



ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
IN ENGLAND
1966-1969

CHAIRMAN : THE RT. HON. LORD REDCLIFFE-MAUD

VOLUME III
RESEARCH APPENDICES

*Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty
June 1969*

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HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

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COMMISSION

**THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND**

**"LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM": SHORT VERSION OF
THE REPORT**

Cmnd. 4039

VOLUME I REPORT

Cmnd. 4040

VOLUME II MEMORANDUM OF DISSENT BY MR. D. SENIOR

Cmnd. 4040-I

VOLUME III RESEARCH APPENDICES

Cmnd. 4040-II

VOLUME III

RESEARCH APPENDICES

Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department
in accordance with an Order of the House of Commons

LONDON
THE MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1969

Foreword

Ten of the twelve appendices in this volume (1-10) were prepared by our own research staff. They are published because of their bearing on issues that have to be examined when considering the reorganisation of local government. The other two appendices (11 and 12) reproduce the reports on education authorities and children's authorities respectively, made for us by the Department of Education and Science and the Home Office.

Our research programme was organised by Mr. L. J. Sharpe, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, who was appointed our Director of Intelligence with the status of Assistant Commissioner. Other members of our staff concerned with the preparation of the research appendices published in this volume were Dr. S. W. E. Vince, Miss M. D. A. Emmens, Mr. A. H. Walkden, Miss L. Shepley and Mr. J. W. B. Worth (all of whom were seconded to us from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government), Dr. P. Spencer (Institute for Operational Research, the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations), Mr. B. Wood (Manchester University), Mr. R. L. Hough (previously with the Greater London Council), Mr. J. W. Shepherd (London School of Economics and Political Science) and Miss J. M. Allsop (Borough Polytechnic).

REDCLIFFE-MAUD

Chairman.

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APPENDIX 1

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARIES SINCE 1888

I INTRODUCTION

1. Since the structure of local government is today still firmly based on the principles laid down in the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, there have been few fundamental changes in the boundaries of counties and county boroughs. This is well illustrated by Figure 1 on page 10, which shows county and county borough boundaries at 1901¹ and the changes made since that date. Because change has not been fundamental, there is a tendency to assume that the actual pattern of boundaries—apart, possibly, from those of county districts—has also remained largely unaltered. The material presented here shows that this is not true. Until the 1920s, when the county councils' apprehension at the rate at which the rule of county borough councils was increasing led to the appointment of the Onslow Commission, boundary revisions were frequent and often involved large populations. Thereafter the process slowed down; but it still continued, though failing to keep pace with the spread of towns.

2. This appendix explores changes made in local government boundaries since the 1888 Act up to 1968. Particular attention is paid to county boroughs because, of the two types of first-tier authority, change has centred more upon them. Apart from adjustments with county boroughs, the county pattern has been more stable, but boundaries between the counties have been revised from time to time and these changes are also discussed, together with the substantial revision that has taken place in the pattern of county districts since 1894.

II THE EXTENSION OF THE COUNTY BOROUGH SYSTEM

3. *The machinery.* The original Bill in 1888 proposed the creation of only ten county boroughs, all with populations of about 150,000 and above. Following pressure from borough M.P.s on both sides of the House, the Government made successive concessions and eventually agreed to allow all boroughs of over 50,000 (and a few Counties of Cities with less than 50,000 population) to become county boroughs. The final 1888 Act thus created 59 county boroughs in England. In addition, the Act made provision for the creation of further county boroughs (provided that they contained a population of at least 50,000), and for the future alteration of county borough boundaries. In both cases, such a change could take place either by the borough council promoting a Private Bill, or through the making of a provisional order (which had to be confirmed by Act of Parliament) by the Minister responsible—at that time the President of the Local Government Board. The provisional order procedure had to be initiated by an application from the borough council and (quite apart from the Parliamentary proceedings, which included hearings before a Select Committee in each House) included a public inquiry by a Departmental inspector.

1. Although the framework set up by the 1888 and 1894 Acts had been in existence for some years by 1901, this is the earliest date for which it was practicable to produce a map.

4. Though objectors did on occasion succeed in preventing change, before the mid-twenties new creations and boundary extensions were usually effected without much difficulty. Thereafter they became more difficult but were still possible. At a time when the population of England was growing rapidly (see appendix 5), and when its distribution was also changing with the development of new industrial areas, this reasonably flexible system allowed the demands of the growing towns to be met. The frequency of new creations and of boundary extensions in this period is illustrated below. But the considerable effect which these changes had on the counties led in turn to increased opposition to change from the county councils concerned, whose interests were harmed by the continual large losses of population and rateable value. Indeed, in the growing industrial and residential areas, such as Lancashire and the West Riding, the future of county government appeared to be in jeopardy.

5. The growing alarm of the counties at the loss of territory and population was a major reason for the establishment of the Royal Commission on Local Government under the chairmanship of Lord Onslow in 1923. The first report of this Commission led directly to the passing of the 1926 Local Government (County Boroughs and Adjustments) Act by which the provisional order method of change was abolished, except in the cases where there were no objections from affected authorities. From then onwards contested extensions and new creations could be made only by local Act, and at the same time the population qualification for new county boroughs was raised to 75,000.

6. It is clear that, as intended, the 1926 Act did lead to a reduction in the rate of transfer of population to county boroughs in the pre-war period, even though boundary extensions to the county boroughs continued at a fairly rapid rate. During the Second World War there was a complete moratorium on boundary alterations and, after the war, successive Governments actively discouraged major boundary alterations, particularly from 1945 to 1949 when the Local Government Boundary Commission chaired by Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve was in being and had local government areas as a whole under review.¹ This Commission came to nothing but the need to limit piecemeal change pending a full-scale appraisal meant a virtual standstill until the Local Government Commission for England (chaired by Sir Henry Hancock) was set up under the Local Government Act 1958. Thus for much of the period 1927-1958 there was effectively an embargo on the creation of new county boroughs.

7. The 1958 Act provided for the Local Government Commission to review the organisation of local government throughout England outside Greater London (a parallel Commission was set up to do the same job in Wales). It was empowered to propose the enlargement of county boroughs, the creation of new ones, the demotion of existing ones, the amalgamation or division of counties, and changes in county boundaries. A population of 100,000 was to be presumed sufficient for a county borough council. In the officially designated

1. The Local Government (Boundary Commission) Act, 1945, required that Commission to consider any application for county borough status by a borough of 100,000 or more population and raised from 75,000 to 100,000 the population needed by a borough before it could promote a Bill for county borough status. There was no provision in the 1945 Act comparable with that in the 1958 Act directing the Local Government Commission and the Minister to presume that in so far as it affected the issue, a population of 100,000 was sufficient to support the discharge of the functions of a county borough. The qualifying population of 75,000 was restored with the repeal of the 1945 Act in 1949.

conurbations of Tyneside, West Yorkshire, South East Lancashire, Merseyside and West Midlands, the Commission was empowered, if it thought fit, to propose a new pattern of local government, with a two-tier system, and whatever distribution of functions between the two tiers it considered necessary. The proposals made by the Local Government Commission were published as work in each review area was completed (the review areas were of approximately regional extent). They had to run the gamut of objections and public inquiry, but at the end of the process the Minister could give effect to whatever proposals he finally decided on by order subject to confirmation or annulment by Parliament.

8. Meanwhile a Royal Commission (chaired by Sir Edwin Herbert) had been appointed to examine the system and working of local government in Greater London and to recommend whatever changes in the local government structure, and whatever distribution of functions, it thought appropriate. Following the report of the London Royal Commission, the local government of Greater London was reorganised under the London Government Act of 1963.

9. The history of the development of the county borough system thus falls quite neatly into three periods which are discussed in detail below. From 1888 to the mid-1920s there was a period of flexibility, when boundary changes were able to match demographic ones fairly easily. During the next thirty years changes did not keep pace with demographic trends. Since 1958 there has been a renewed attempt to rationalise county borough boundaries, this time in a systematic fashion.

10. 1888–1927. Within a year of the passing of the 1888 Act the first new county borough (Oxford) was created. By 1923, when the Onslow Commission was established, Oxford had been joined by no less than twenty other new county boroughs, though the net increase in the number of county boroughs was only 19. This was because the county borough of Hanley was abolished when the area was included in the new Stoke-on-Trent county borough on its creation in 1910; and in 1914 Plymouth and Devonport were combined to form the enlarged county borough of Plymouth. Right at the end of this first period the net increase of 19 became 20 when Doncaster (then with a population of 60,000) was fortunate enough to get its local Act passed by Parliament in 1926—despite the presence in Parliament, during that year, of the Local Government (County Boroughs and Adjustments) Bill which, as from 1927, increased the qualifying limit to 75,000. Of all the new county boroughs created between 1888 and 1926, only three were created by local Act rather than by provisional order.

11. Between 1888 and 1922 there were no fewer than 109 extensions (this includes four to the Welsh county boroughs) of which 63 took place by means of a provisional order. Five extensions transferred more than 50,000 people and fifteen others between 20,000 and 50,000¹.

12. The twenty additional county boroughs in this first period meant that almost 1.4 million people were transferred from counties to county boroughs. A further 1.7 million were absorbed into the county boroughs by the boundary extensions, making a total loss to the counties of around 3.1 million population.

1. Royal Commission on Local Government, Minutes of Evidence 1, pp. 94–5 and Appendix XXIII, H.M.S.O. 1923—Mr. I. G. Gibbon for the Ministry of Health.

Appendix 1

Altogether, 20 of the 49 counties were affected, and the extensions alone took in the whole of 3 municipal boroughs, 66 urban districts and 4 rural districts. Some of the more urbanised counties were particularly affected by these changes: Lancashire (1·8 million population in 1888) lost 670,000, Staffordshire (826,000 population in 1888) 400,000 and the West Riding (1·3 million population in 1888) 420,000. The overall loss of 3·1 million should be considered against a total county population of some 20 million in 1888 and some 24 million in 1927.

13. The original 59 county boroughs contained 297,000 acres in 1888. By 1927 county boroughs covered an area of 622,000 acres, or more than twice that in 1888¹. Of the increase, 100,000 acres were accounted for by new creations, and the remaining 225,000 acres by extensions (27,000 acres of which were extensions to "new" county boroughs between the date of their creation and 1927). The largest extension in terms of area was one of 30,123 acres (and 314,369 population) to Birmingham in 1911, more than trebling the area of the borough. Two other extensions transferred an area of more than 10,000 acres, and, altogether, about half of the 109 extensions took into the county borough concerned an area of at least one thousand acres².

14. 1927–1958. The 1926 Act, the war-time moratorium, the era of the Local Government Boundary Commission and the subsequent period during which a new approach was being considered, all combined effectively to halt the creation of any new county boroughs for over 30 years. After Doncaster, no new county boroughs were created until the post-1958 period following the Local Government Commission's reviews, although several abortive Private Bills were promoted in the post-war period, e.g. by Ealing and Ilford in the London area and by Luton and Stockton-on-Tees outside.

15. The boundaries of existing county boroughs were, however, very far from being frozen. In particular, numerous small extensions took place during the reviews of county district boundaries which were undertaken by county councils under the Local Government Act 1929. By 1937 there had been 153 extensions and 26, mainly very small, reductions in the areas of county boroughs, involving a net transfer of almost 150,000 population³ and around 110,000 acres⁴. Between 1937 and 1958 a further transfer of territory on a comparable scale was made to county boroughs. If it is assumed that the density of population in transferred territory was similar in the two periods 1927–37 and 1937–58, over the whole of the three decades during which efforts were made to slow up the process of adjustment, the county boroughs gained 300,000 population and 223,000 acres at the expense of the county councils. By 1958 county boroughs in total covered 845,000 acres⁵.

16. The extent of change during the period 1927–1958 differs according to the criterion taken. In terms of the number of extensions, there was a sharp increase to 153 in the first 10 years as compared with 109 during the whole 34

1. Census 1931 County Series, Tables 3 and 4 (Figures adjusted for boundary changes between 1927 and 1931).

2. Royal Commission on Local Government, Minutes of Evidence 3, p. 451 and Appendix

3. Census 1931, General Report, pp. 67–8.

4. V. D. Lipman, *Local Government Areas, 1834–1945* Blackwell, 1949 pp. 185–6.

5. Census 1961, County Reports, Tables 3 and 4.

year period between 1888 and 1922. In the pre-1927 period as many as 26 county boroughs kept the same boundaries throughout, whereas between 1927 and 1958 all but eight obtained extensions. The acreage transferred also remained at a high annual rate. Between 1888 and 1927 the annual acreage added to county boroughs was some 8,300 or 6,000 if new creations are excluded. In the 1927-58 period the annual rate of transfer was some 7,000 acres. But viewed in terms of population the 1926 Act reduced the rate of growth of the county borough system. The annual loss suffered by the counties fell from 46,000 (or 80,000 with new creations) to 10,000. Extensions were generally small, and in the decade up to 1937 only two (Coventry and Leicester) involved more than 10,000 people¹.

17. 1958-1968. As a result of the work of the Local Government Commission for England and the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, numerous changes in the structure have been made in the last decade. Three completely new county boroughs, Luton, Solihull, and Torbay, have been created, and they have a total population of over 360,000. At the same time three others have been abolished. All three—Croydon, East Ham and West Ham—were in Greater London, and they had some 515,000 citizens. Proposals made by the Local Government Commission for the demotion of several small county boroughs outside London (viz. Barnsley, Burton, Great Yarmouth, Wakefield and Worcester) were either accepted by the Government but delayed because of legal action and finally dropped because of the appointment of the Royal Commission (Burton) or not accepted because of the appointment of the Royal Commission. Thus creations and abolitions have, since 1958, cancelled each other out numerically, but have resulted in a small net loss of population to the county borough system. With the most recent creation of a new county borough (Torbay), the number of such authorities in England returns to 79.

18. This loss is more than counter-balanced by the large number of boundary extensions of county boroughs which have taken place. Because the Local Government Commission was wound up before it had covered the whole country no decision was taken on the boundaries of 32 county boroughs in the South, South East and North West, the final proposals stage never having been reached in the South or the North West, and the South East never having been reviewed at all. Of the remaining 47, over half have been extended, and the number might have been higher had the Government not decided to suspend action on the West Yorkshire and Tyneside areas because of the creation of the present Royal Commission. As a result, only about 35 county boroughs were fully investigated under the terms of the 1958 Act, and virtually every one gained some territory at the expense of its neighbouring county. The few that did not were those which the Local Government Commission proposed should lose their county borough status, for in such cases it did not deal with detailed boundary changes, but left these for the subsequent county review.

19. These post-1958 extensions covered a population of a little over 1 million. Several were large by any standards, notably those in the Black Country, which was comprehensively reorganised. In two cases the reorganisation was so extensive that the original county boroughs were renamed; thus Warley replaced Smethwick (though incorporating of course a much larger area than the former C.B.). In the second case Middlesbrough was absorbed into the new county

1. Census 1931, General Report, p. 68.

Appendix 1

borough of Teesside. Apart from the London reorganisation which abolished Croydon and East and West Ham, the county borough system has continued steadily to gain ground at the expense of the counties since 1958. The acreage covered by county boroughs has risen from 845,000 to 989,000 acres, which represents an annual increase of 14,500 acres, that is to say about twice the average of both the pre-1958 periods. The net increase in population of about 900,000 has been at a rate of some 90,000 per annum, or considerably faster than in either of the two earlier periods.

20. *Summary, County Boroughs—1888–1968.* There has been a substantial increase in the area of almost all county boroughs. Apart from those created during the last five years, only two—Barrow and Dewsbury—have not obtained an extension since their creation. In all, this represents a transfer of about 4.3 million population from the counties. In territorial terms the total area covered by county boroughs has increased from some 297,000 acres to 989,000 acres, over a three-fold gain. Counties have thereby collectively lost to county boroughs an area about the size of Gloucestershire or the East Riding of Yorkshire, quite apart from further losses on the reorganisation of London government. Ten county boroughs—Birmingham, Bolton, Brighton, Bristol, Coventry, Gloucester, Leicester, Northampton, Plymouth and Southampton—today cover an area at least five times larger than when they were created. The most spectacular single example is Coventry where the increase has been no less than fourteen-fold, from 1,430 to 20,165 acres.

21. Yet despite this, and despite the fact that far more people now live in urban areas generally, the proportion of the population of England living in county boroughs has risen only from 27% in 1888 to 30% today. Since the mid-1920s this proportion has in fact fallen from a peak of 37%. This is ample illustration in itself of the rapid growth of population in the last half century in areas just outside the boundaries of the big cities.

III COUNTIES SINCE 1888

22. Changes in the boundaries of counties have been dominated since 1888 by the extension and creation of county boroughs, for each new creation and virtually every extension has been at the expense of an adjoining county council. At the same time, neither the number of counties nor the boundaries between counties have remained entirely static. This part of the appendix looks at these two points in turn.

23. *The amalgamation and division of counties.* The Local Government Act of 1888 established 48 administrative counties in England, each with its own county council. Under the Act some geographical counties were divided into two or more administrative counties—Yorkshire and Lincolnshire into three, Suffolk, Sussex, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire into two. This division of the ancient counties in the Act was allowed only in those areas where there were two (or three) courts of quarter sessions in the ancient county. Hence relatively small counties like Suffolk were divided because of their legal history, while giants such as Lancashire were not. The Act also created the entirely new County of London by combining parts of Middlesex, Kent and Surrey.

24. Additional provision was made in the Act for the subsequent division or amalgamation of counties. In the event, county councils made little attempt to use it. Apart from the division in 1890 of the county of Southampton (not officially re-named Hampshire until 1959) in order to create a separate county of the Isle of Wight¹, there was no change in the number of counties until the post-1958 reviews by the Royal Commission on London and the Local Government Commission took place. In the Ministry of Health's evidence to the Onslow Commission (1923) it was stated that some tentative suggestions were made to the department in the early years after 1888 for the creation of new counties, but these never became definite applications and except in relation to the Isle of Wight no public inquiries were ever held².

25. The post-1958 era, when changes in the organisation of local government were permanently on the agenda and were not dependent on the initiative of individual local authorities, has seen a reduction by four to 45 in the number of administrative counties. In the reorganisation of London government, the counties of London and Middlesex were abolished when the Greater London Council was established³. In the East Midlands, the four counties of Cambridgeshire, Isle of Ely, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough were reduced to two. Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely were re-united, having been divided almost eighty years earlier under the 1888 Act. The Soke, which before 1888 was part of the ancient county of Northampton, was amalgamated with Huntingdonshire.

26. The Local Government Commission also proposed a further reduction in the number of counties by the amalgamations of Leicestershire and Rutland, and of the two smaller parts of Lincolnshire—Holland and Kesteven. In neither case did the Government of the day ratify the Commission's proposals. The number of county councils in England has thus remained remarkably stable since 1888. The variation in numbers has been only from a peak of 49 to the present 45.

27. *Inter-county boundaries.* The 1888 Act did not alter county boundaries apart from dividing up some geographical counties. Existing boundaries were used, despite widespread anomalies and the detachment of small areas from the counties they belonged to. Furthermore, no systematic nation-wide review of county boundaries was made possible under the Act, which merely allowed individual counties to propose alterations piecemeal if they so desired.

28. Some tidying-up did take place in the next forty years², but it was not until the statutory county reviews took place under the 1929 Act that substantial progress was made. In the following decade there were 58 changes affecting 22 counties, and in all more than 80,000 acres and 25,000 inhabitants were involved. The counties gaining most were the West Riding (with a net gain of 9,109 population and 5,968 acres), Gloucestershire and the Isle of Ely. Derbyshire lost

1. The creation of a separate county of the Isle of Wight brought the total number of counties in England to 49.

2. Royal Commission (Gibbon), *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83.

3. Since Greater London is not a county, the abolition of London and Middlesex reduced the total number of counties by two.

Appendix I

over 7,000 population and 4,000 acres, and Somerset nearly 5,000 population¹. In many areas however, anomalies remained. The 1887-88 Boundary Commission had discussed at length areas such as Newmarket, Leighton Buzzard and the detached part of Flint in between Cheshire and Salop; these and other irrational boundaries remained, however, after 1888.

29. Under the 1958 Act, the Local Government Commission was given the task of reviewing county boundaries. Literally hundreds of small changes were proposed in its reports, but comparatively few were implemented before it was wound up. The Leighton Buzzard area of Bedfordshire was tidied up with the transfer of Linslade from neighbouring Buckinghamshire and the creation of Leighton-Linslade U.D. The division of Broadwoodwidger R.D. between Devon and Cornwall, and of Tamworth R.D. on the Warwick-Staffordshire borders are other, more important, examples of the type of change resulting from that Commission's work. But the major alteration to county boundaries it proposed was not accepted. This would have transferred over 100,000 people in the Harrogate area from the West to the North Riding, and nearly 60,000 around Scarborough from the North to East Riding².

30. By far the greatest changes in county boundaries since 1888 have resulted from the reorganisation of local government in Greater London under the London Government Act 1963. Three counties, Essex, Kent and Surrey each lost between 28% and 46% of their population, and a fourth, Hertfordshire, lost 4%. Hertfordshire also gained Potters Bar U.D. and Surrey was given Staines U.D. and Sunbury U.D.—these three districts being formerly in Middlesex, a county completely abolished under the reorganisation scheme.

IV COUNTY DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

31. The boundaries of county districts have also been subject to a considerable amount of alteration since the Local Government Act 1894. The number of changes has been far greater than in the case of either county councils or county boroughs.

32. Under the 1888 Act, adjustments to the boundaries of urban and rural districts could be made on the initiative of the county council, subject to a final decision by the Minister. Non-county boroughs however, could themselves initiate change, and there were 101 extensions to their boundaries between 1888 and 1922³. Urban districts could also become non-county boroughs and 53 towns in England and Wales obtained charters during this period. The county district pattern was also affected by county borough extensions. Seventy-three complete districts were swallowed up by county borough extensions in the period down to 1922 and numerous others which were adjacent to county boroughs lost part of their territory. But these latter changes were offset by the simultaneous creation of considerable numbers of new urban districts from the larger parishes in rural areas, and between 1894 and 1929 the total number of county districts varied only between 1,520 and 1,580. Between 1888 and 1922 more than 700

1. Census 1931, General Report, p. 67.

2. Local Government Commission for England, Report No. 8—York and North Midlands General Review Area, H.M.S.O., 1964, pp. 39-43.

3. Royal Commission (Gibbon), *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85, 94-95, and Appendix XXIII, Table D.

orders were passed relating to urban and rural districts. Some 290 created new districts (all but 26 being urban districts), and the remaining 400 dealt with alterations to district boundaries¹.

33. The Onslow Commission recommended in its second report that each county council should undertake a full review of county district boundaries, and this became a duty under the 1929 Local Government Act. Whereas changes in county and county borough boundaries had to be made on the initiative of the individual authorities until 1958, in the case of districts a more systematic method of review was thus introduced almost thirty years earlier.

34. The county reviews of the 1930's dealt only with urban and rural districts; non-county boroughs could not be amalgamated, abolished or diminished without their consent. Despite this restriction, the reviews did succeed in reducing the number of districts by 304, from 1,526 to 1,222. The number of non-county boroughs rose in the 1930's from 256 to 277 due to several urban districts being granted charters, but the number of urban districts in England was reduced from 700 to 527, and the number of rural districts from 570 to 418².

35. Following these reviews, there was a period after the war of relative stability in county district boundaries until 1958. The Local Government Act of that year inaugurated a further reduction in the number of county districts, particularly in the West Midlands. The abolition of all county districts in Greater London under the London Government Act further reduced the total. The 1958 Act also introduced a second round of county reviews, to be undertaken by county councils after their area had been itself reviewed by the Local Government Commission. In the event, only in Shropshire—which was in the first area to be examined by the Commission—was a full-scale reorganisation possible before county reviews were terminated following the establishment of the Royal Commission. Five other counties, Cornwall, Bedfordshire, Herefordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire, also completed their reviews and minor unopposed changes have been implemented in all except Warwickshire. The net result of post-1958 changes is that the number of second-tier authorities has been further reduced by almost one hundred, from about 1,220 to 1,119³, the vast bulk of this reduction taking place in Greater London and the West Midlands.

36. A further result of this second round of county reviews has been the emergence of a new type of local authority—the rural borough. Unlike the earlier reviews, on this occasion the municipal boroughs were not exempted from examination. Small ones, which were demoted to the equivalent of parish councils, were able to retain their mayor and certain corporate property and became known as rural boroughs, although part of a rural district. There are now six rural boroughs in two counties, five in Shropshire and one in Cornwall.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

2. Census 1931, General Report, pp. 69–70.

3. For the purposes of the present comparison, the London boroughs and the City of London have been included in this figure.

Fig.1

CHANGES IN BOUNDARIES OF ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES AND COUNTY BOROUGHS 1901-1968



APPENDIX 2

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP OF TOWN AND COUNTRY

Introduction

1. Many witnesses, from private individuals to government departments, expressed the view that "town" and "country" were becoming increasingly blurred. They said that urban and rural areas were now so closely related economically and socially that it no longer made sense to have a local government structure which, in separating county boroughs from counties, and municipal boroughs and urban districts from rural districts, still reflected the population patterns and ways of life of 1888, or earlier.

The concepts of "town" and "country"

2. Common-sense definitions of "country" as distinct from "town" areas usually point to two characteristics. Country populations live in small settlements—whether in villages, hamlets or more scattered dwellings. There is also a great deal of open land. Much of it is agricultural, though there are also heaths, commons and forests.

3. Agricultural land is still a main feature of country areas. In 1966, 23,800,000 acres—73% of the total area of England—was used agriculturally.¹ But a high proportion of people engaged in agriculture is no longer a criterion of a rural area. Mechanisation and modern farm methods produce more food with a steadily contracting labour force: census figures² show that in England as a whole (excluding the Greater London conurbation) employment in all agricultural occupations fell from 813,000 (5.4% of the total occupied population) in 1951 to 614,000 (3.8%) in 1961 and 529,000 (3.1%) in 1966. In 1966 only 12 out of the 413 rural districts recorded a majority of their economically active males in agriculture. In only 118 did the proportion reach as much as a quarter. In 116 rural districts the proportion was under 10%, and in 49 under 5%.

4. A "town" may appear easy to define, but in fact there is an almost imperceptible gradation from hamlets and villages of unmistakably rural character to towns of various kinds and sizes. Whatever the size of a "town", however, people in it often live at high residential densities with at least a proportion of housing of compact terraced type. Yet residential density by itself is an uncertain criterion. Since 1948 whole new towns have grown up with many of their residents enjoying gardens and space standards more generous than some people whose cottages front onto a village street. Another possible

1. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Agricultural Statistics, 1966. These official returns relate to agricultural holdings exceeding one acre in area.

2. Census 1951, England and Wales, Occupation Tables, Table 20: category II, Agricultural occupations, excluding "other gardeners, foresters and woodmen".
Census 1961, England and Wales, Occupation Tables, Table 26: category I, excluding "fishermen, gardeners and groundsmen, foresters and woodmen".
Sample census 1966, Great Britain, Economic Activity Tables, Part I, Table 13, category I, excluding "fishermen, gardeners and groundsmen, foresters and woodmen".

Appendix 2

criterion of a town is a certain many-sidedness which may show in its functioning as a business, commercial and employment centre not only for its own population but for people living around it. On this basis, many small places in country areas are functionally towns, although they may not have administrative status as a borough or urban district. In Wiltshire, H. E. Bracey¹ studied the facilities and services provided in rural settlements and charted their "zones of influence". He established that hamlets and villages could be arranged in a hierarchy, in which some places generally regarded as villages performed some, at least, of the functions of towns. On the other hand there are many much bigger settlements which do not, in any real sense, serve as urban centres for surrounding areas. Some of these are suburban dormitories. Others are mining villages, as in county Durham or West Yorkshire, with as many as 5,000 or 10,000 population, living in compact terraced housing at urban residential densities.

5. The frontier between "town" and "country" areas is thus difficult to define precisely. It certainly does not correspond exactly with the county boroughs, municipal boroughs and urban districts on the one hand, and the rural districts on the other, for which most statistics are provided. But although some rural districts contain places not wholly rural, and some urban administrative areas contain rural territory, it is still a truism that this country's rural areas are overwhelmingly within rural districts. Furthermore, in many rural districts agriculture is still a main activity, even if it does not account for most of the employment. Statistics for urban and rural administrative areas are therefore still highly relevant to an examination of town and country relationships.

Background

6. From various standpoints—history, geography, town planning, among others—many studies have been made of the growth of towns in England. Before the industrial period, as R. E. Dickinson² has shown, the country was peppered with closely spaced small towns. Their genesis and growth—closely influenced by geographical and historical factors—derived from their capacity to serve as trading centres for the agricultural population living within a close radius around them. Poor transport confined their areas of influence, in most cases, to no more than about four or five miles radius—the limits of a day's journey, there and back, for human beings and livestock on their own feet.

7. The industrial revolution, using new sources of power and cheaper, more effective, transport (first canals, later railways) led to the growth of much larger towns. Some of these—like Nottingham or Leicester—were old-established towns well placed to take advantage of the new industrial processes. But many were a new kind of specialist industrial town; cotton and woollen textile towns in the Pennine foothills of Lancashire and Yorkshire; some Black Country places turning out coal, brass and iron; places like Jarrow and Hebburn lining the Tyne, living by exporting coal and building ships. Such industrial towns had almost no connection with the rural populations around them. Hastily built, their housing usually of low standard, poorly provided with shops and urban amenities, they had grown to a large extent by attracting migrants from rural areas seeking employment. They had few services to offer people continuing to live in the surrounding rural areas.

1. H. E. Bracey, *Social provision in rural Wiltshire*, 1952.

2. R. E. Dickinson, *City and region, a geographical interpretation*, 1964.

8. With industrialism the population of England increased. Birth rates rose, and despite appalling conditions of life in many of the great industrial towns death rates tended to fall, although periodically soaring as a result of outbreaks of cholera. From 1801 to 1851 the population of England doubled, from 8.3 millions to 16.8 millions, and by 1901 it was 30.5 millions. The increase was overwhelmingly in the towns. W. G. East¹ has estimated that in 1801 78% of the country's population lived outside towns. By 1901 only 25% of the population lived in rural districts.

THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The widening gap between town and country

9. The population and occupational data available in the successive censuses suggest that by the 1870s and 1880s the urban and rural areas of the country were becoming more self-contained than in previous periods. The urban areas were growing fast. Many were predominantly centres of manufacturing industry, with only a poor representation of the trading, shopping and commercial occupations that traditionally had made towns focal points for their surrounding rural territory. The rural areas as a whole were gaining population only very slowly, at a rate far below the national average, and many were declining. This was because of the increasing mechanisation of arable farming, competition from overseas grain causing a reduction in the acreage of arable land and greater emphasis on pastoral farming, the lack of alternative employment in rural areas and the wider opportunities offered by towns. With the decline in agricultural employment many local towns also declined which had traditionally provided services for agricultural areas.

10. Some of the population and migration aspects of urban-rural relationships were clarified by E. G. Ravenstein², who used national census material and local studies in Northamptonshire to analyse the birth places of resident population from the census of 1881. He noted that most migrants went only short distances; that the inhabitants of areas immediately surrounding a town of very rapid growth moved into it in large numbers; that long-distance migrants generally went to one of the great centres of commerce or industry; and that there was less migration from towns than from the rural parts of the country.

11. It is not surprising that many people saw the limited contacts between the growing towns and the rural areas as needing recognition in the reform of local government. G. C. Broderick, writing in 1885, said:

"No readjustment of boundaries can be satisfactory which ignores the manifold and increasing differences between urban and rural districts. Whatever areas be adopted they must not be so designed as to force straggling villages into a . . . union with populous towns."³

1. W. G. East, in H. C. Darby (Editor), *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, 1936.

2. E. G. Ravenstein, On the Laws of Migration, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. XLVIII, June 1885.

3. V. D. Lipman, *Local Government Areas, 1834-1945*, (Blackwell, 1949), p. 133. The original quotation was in G. C. Broderick, *Local Government and Taxation*, 1885.

Patterns of population change, after the local government re-organisation of 1888 and 1894

12. The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 carried the differences between town and country into the local government system with their division of England between county boroughs and counties, and also between non-county boroughs and urban districts on the one hand and rural districts on the other. Yet already there were signs, in some areas, that relationships between town and country areas were changing as the more prosperous people from the towns moved to the outskirts, and sometimes beyond. The areas of greatest population growth were no longer the very largest cities, but the medium and smaller sized towns, as is plain from the following table, which shows rates of population growth from 1891 to 1901 in urban administrative areas of various population ranges. Many of the smaller and medium sized towns were in fact suburbs outside the boundaries of the bigger towns they fringed.

Table 1: Urban administrative areas 1891-1901: percentage population increase

<i>Population range</i>	<i>Percentage population increase</i>
Over 700,000*	7.3
250-700,000	12.1
100-250,000	17.7
50-100,000	23.2
20- 50,000	20.3
10- 20,000	18.4
5- 10,000	14.4
3- 5,000	8.6
Less than 3,000	4.9

Source: Census of England and Wales 1901: General Report, page 23.

* The only area represented in this category was the L.C.C.

13. The bigger cities now had less land for further expansion. Transport facilities had also been gradually improving. Horse buses, trams and steam trains spread London suburbs into metropolitan Essex, Kent, Surrey and Middlesex, Manchester suburbs into Stockport, Cheadle, Hazel Grove and Stretford, while Birmingham spread into Handsworth, Edgbaston and Sparkhill. Birmingham's population rose by 9.2%, whereas outside its boundaries King's Norton and Northfield grew by 102%, Handsworth by 62% and Smethwick by 51%. On Merseyside, Liverpool grew by 8.8%, but Wallasey by 61%. In their search for quieter, healthier and more spacious living conditions the well-to-do residents of the big cities and the industrial areas sometimes went beyond suburbia, for example to Alderley Edge in Cheshire, which was already by the 1870s, thanks to the railway, a high class residential area for the Manchester business community. But this was unusual. The new areas around most growing towns were still mainly tight developments. The "garden city" was in

being, but most new housing had been, so far, little influenced by it, and remained uninfluenced until large-scale house building was resumed after the 1914-1918 war. The limiting factor was transport. Away from suburban railways and tram routes, public transport was almost non-existent. Private cars remained, for at least another decade, a rich man's hobby rather than an effective means of commuting. Even in 1904 there were only 5,300 petrol-driven public transport vehicles in the whole country, and many of these, of course, were operating in the streets of London and other great cities. Most workers outside the conurbations and great cities still walked to work,¹ or used bicycles, which became popular after about 1880.

14. The earliest census information about journey-to-work is for 1921. But previous census material yields useful information to support the judgement that urban areas at the turn of the century were still fairly self-contained for employment. The 1901 census records the occupations of residents in many individual urban administrative areas. Typically urban occupations—manufacturing, business, trade, the professions—were poorly represented among residents in rural districts. The limited extent to which people in urban employment lived outside towns is plain from census tabulations for urban and rural administrative areas. The ratio of all occupied residents living in all urban areas to those living in all rural areas at 1901 was approximately 4:1. The occupation group “commercial and business clerks” was resident in urban and rural areas in the ratio of 15:1. Very few people in this occupation, therefore, lived outside the urban areas in which they worked. In Leicestershire 2,485 or 86% of the total of 2,887 people described as “commercial and business clerks” lived in Leicester county borough and the seven next largest urban areas in the county. It is instructive to notice, however, that the generally more affluent occupational group of “merchants, agents, accountants, dealers in money, insurance workers”, though still overwhelmingly living in the urban areas in which the vast majority of them worked, were slightly better represented in rural areas than commercial and business clerks; their ratio of urban to rural dwellers was 11:1.² This suggests that there were some people in this financially better-off group who worked in towns but were resident in the rural districts outside.

15. But the limited population pressures on the rural districts are plain from the following table, compiled from Tables 11 and 12 in the summary volume of the 1901 census.³ During the period 1891-1901 population in rural districts grew by under 3%, while in England as a whole (excluding the L.C.C. area) population rose by nearly 13%:

1. References bearing on this include:

Royal Commission on the Housing of the working classes, 1884-5, Q.739.

G. M. Young (Editor), *Early Victorian England*, 1830-1855, 1934 (Essay by J. H. Clapham, Vol. I, p. 22 and R. H. Mottram, Vol. I, pp. 172-3).

G. A. Selcon, *Locomotion in Victorian London*, 1938, p. 8.

2. Census 1901, England and Wales, Summary Tables, Tables 37A and 37B.

3. Urban and rural districts were not set up till 1894. The 1891 census figures were subsequently adjusted by the census authorities to the boundaries of the new units. The figures for 1891 and 1901 are therefore comparable.

Table 2: Population changes in England by types of administrative area, 1891-1901 (excluding L.C.C. area)

<i>Type of administrative area</i>	<i>Population (thousands)</i>		<i>Percentage change, 1891-1901</i>
	<i>1891</i>	<i>1901</i>	
Total of:			
Rural districts	6,487	6,672	2.9
Urban districts	5,325	6,619	24.3
Municipal boroughs	3,278	3,697	12.8
County boroughs	7,835	8,885	13.4
Total: all areas	22,925	25,874	12.9

16. The small increase of 3% spread over some 600 rural districts conceals wide variations. Many rural districts remote from urban and industrial influences declined. Special importance thus attaches to map 11¹ which shows proportionate changes in population in each local authority area in the period 1891-1901.

17. The essential features of the changes in population in this period may be summarised as follows:

- (i) London and other main industrial areas (with their surroundings, which included many rural districts) showed increases well above the national average. Around London the zone of population increase covered the whole of Middlesex and Surrey and extended deep into Essex, Kent, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Elsewhere, there were increases in the Northumberland and Durham coal, iron, steel and shipbuilding areas; in much of south Lancashire; and in the Midlands, especially parts of Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.
- (ii) Many parts of the country, however, showed a declining population: most of East Anglia, parts of central and east Kent, parts of the Midlands away from the industrial and urban areas, the Welsh Border counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire, much of the south west of England.
- (iii) Apart from such broad regional trends the map shows a recurring local pattern. Many urban administrative areas show higher rates of growth than the adjoining or surrounding rural districts. Examples from the map, including towns of very different sizes and character, are York, Exeter, Norwich, Oxford, Banbury, Grimsby, Northampton, Wantage, Hereford, Driffield, Worcester.

18. To take one of these towns as an example, in Grimsby county borough population rose by 11,200, or nearly 22%, between 1891 and 1901. But in the surrounding rural district of Grimsby population fell, although only slightly, by 75 or 1.4%. In the somewhat more remote rural districts of Caistor and Louth population fell respectively by 1,200 (8.2%) and 2,100 (10.3%).

1. Maps 10-17 inclusive are contained in the folder associated with this volume.

The changing relationship of town and country

19. This recurring feature of faster population growth in towns than in surrounding rural districts suggests that towns were still able to contain most of their population growth. It reinforces the conclusions in paragraph 14 that urban population and commuting pressures had not, so far, greatly affected rural districts. These impressions from map 11 may be supplemented by an analysis of the pattern of population change by types of administrative area.¹ Between 1891 and 1901 65% of the 1,615 local authorities recorded an increase in population. But of the 600 rural districts only 242 or 40% increased, while nearly 60% decreased. Furthermore, of the rural districts only 109 or 18% increased by 10% or more, whereas 64% of county boroughs, 41% of municipal boroughs, and 52% of urban districts increased by this amount.

20. Two qualifications attach to map 11. One is that it is not concerned with absolute, but with proportionate population changes. Table 2, however, shows absolute changes for aggregated rural districts, urban districts, municipal and county boroughs. The other qualification is that population changes do not necessarily apply uniformly over all parts of a local authority area, particularly in rural districts. Map 11 is therefore supplemented with figure 1 on page 36 showing population changes (by parishes) in a sample area—around Norwich, from 1891 to 1901, using census figures already adjusted to allow for boundary changes occurring during the period 1891–1901.

21. The free-standing city of Norwich grew in population in this period by 10,763 or 10.6%. But of the four rural districts whose territories touched the city, only one increased in population, and this increase, in St. Faith's rural district, was only of 384 people, or 3.2%. The other three rural districts declined, Blofield by 180 people or 1.5%, Henstead by 476 or 4.6% and Forehoe by 659 or 5.5%. But despite the rise in population in St. Faith's rural district, only 14 out of its 29 parishes showed an increase. In Blofield rural district 11 parishes out of 30 increased, in Henstead 13 out of 37, and in Forehoe only 3 out of 23. Thus of the 119 parishes in these four rural districts only about a third, 41, increased. Figure 1 shows that most of the parishes with increasing populations were fairly close to Norwich: 28 were within about 5 miles of the county borough boundary. These parishes must be presumed to have grown largely through their proximity to Norwich. Most of the other parishes in the area covered by figure 1 had a declining population. The factors affecting population growth, at a time when there was no planning control, included the decisions of individual land owners to sell land for development. But the overall conclusion is that the population pressures around Norwich at this period did not extend deeply into the surrounding countryside.

THE 20TH CENTURY UP TO 1945

The watershed of 1914–1918

22. Because of the comparative self-containment of urban and rural areas, the separation of county from county borough and of urban from rural districts embodied in the Acts of 1888 and 1894 had not so far proved troublesome. But

1. Reference may also be made to Table 8, on page 29. This compares some aspects of population change from 1891–1901 with those of 1956–1966.

Appendix 2

1914 was to prove a major watershed. It marked the peak of output and employment in some older-established industrial areas which had formed the sinews of the country's economic growth and prosperity. Many customers were lost during the war, and after it exchange difficulties, the development of continental coalfields, the growing use of electricity as a source of industrial power, the steady replacement of coal by oil for ship propulsion, combined to cut drastically the demand for coal from British coalfields. Cotton textiles and shipbuilding faced severe overseas competition. The excessive dependence of older industrial areas on a few staple industries, coupled with outworn housing and a drab urban fabric, caused a persistent migration of their workpeople to the Midlands and the south, where employment was more widely based and included the newer growth industries of cars, light engineering and electrical engineering of many kinds.

23. These newer industries, orientated more to markets than to the coalfields, led to considerable population growth in the Midlands and the south east. Here, particularly, the period from 1920 to 1939 was one of rapid and largely unplanned suburban and peripheral growth around most towns, large and small alike. The semi-detached or detached house with a garden, however small, now became the norm in new house building, almost completely replacing terraced housing. In the Greater London area the growing tentacles of the underground and surface electric railways helped to convert many formerly semi-rural areas into developed suburbs.

Growing personal mobility

24. The new housing and related developments between the wars were, however, largely a response to improved road transport. The 8,500 motor cars registered in 1904 had grown to 132,000 by 1914, and to 684,000 by 1926. Public transport vehicles increased from 5,300 in 1904 to over 100,000 by 1926. The number of motor cycles had been under 35,000 in 1907, but in 1926 was 637,000.¹ People could now live further from their place of work, and enjoy more space and privacy. They could also get into the countryside more readily for relaxation. The social impact of these changes up to about 1926-27 was described at the time in these words:

"In the generation which has elapsed since the petrol motor first made its appearance on the roads in any numbers, the habits of the ordinary man have been revolutionised. He has learnt to travel and enjoy travelling for the sake of travelling . . . the country has been brought within reach of the townsman and the towns of the countrymen by a network of buses carrying passengers at a rate usually considerably below the standard railway fare . . . the towns have benefited by having large tracts of hitherto untouched rural areas far removed from railway stations, thrown open to them for playgrounds."²

25. The significance of the growth in the number of motor vehicles is more readily seen from figure 2 on page 37. The first surge in car ownership came between 1920 and 1939 as large-scale, assembly-line methods of production lowered prices and brought car ownership within the means of more people.

1. Source: Ministry of Transport: Highway Statistics, 1967 (figures refer to Great Britain).

2. C. T. Brunner, *The problem of motor transport*, Benn, 1929.

The changing relationship of town and country

Between 1939 and 1945 the war stopped the growth in the number of vehicles, but afterwards renewed growth outstripped that of any other period.

26. The spread of population from towns into rural districts was helped by the lack of effective planning control. It was also speeded by the severe depression of agriculture, particularly from 1929 to about 1934. There were big reductions in agricultural employment; the number of full-time agricultural workers fell from nearly 632,000 in 1921 to 562,000 in 1931, and to only 474,000 by 1939.¹

27. Very shortly after the 1914–1918 war it was recognised that even with the comparatively modest growth of suburbs and of mobility, the volume of commuting had reached proportions which made it necessary to collect accurate and complete information. The preface to the workplaces volume of the 1921 census said:²

“In a less highly organised and industrial community localities may tend to be more or less self-sufficient, each local resident population being served and supplied with the bulk of its needs by the same population in its working capacity and thus experiencing little necessity for interaction with other localities apart from the occasions of periodical fairs or markets . . .”

“ . . . But this stage has long been passed in the history of this country for the great majority of its workers. As those conditions were due, it may be said, to the dispersion of necessary services and production, which in the absence of transport facilities, had to be located in proximity to the population served, so the great development of transport and communications fostered a concentration which has changed the whole face of industry. The growth of large manufacturing, distributing and commercial centres has not only given rise to concentrations of workers beyond the residential capacity of their immediate neighbourhoods, but has exaggerated that deficiency by substituting factories, warehouses and offices for dwellings in the centres themselves; while the very development of transport which has made it necessary for the worker to live at a distance from his work has also made it possible for him to do so.”

“Thus it happens that at the present time in many parts of the country masses of population move in tides of daily ebb and flow. These movements obviously have a direct bearing upon many difficult problems of traffic, transport and housing; the resident population of any locality is no longer the sole matter of concern of that locality . . . local public services must be provided for these invading armies.”

Commuting between urban and rural areas in 1921

28. Map 12 shows the extent to which rural districts depended for employment upon urban administrative areas in 1921.³ The main conclusions emerging from it may be summarised as follows:

- (i) Rural districts near or surrounding large centres of employment had, as one would expect, higher proportions of their people working in urban areas than rural districts situated further away.

1. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, *Agricultural Statistics, 1921, 1931 and 1939*.

2. *Census of England and Wales, 1921: Workplaces*, pp. iii-iv.

3. The other part of map 12 is a comparable portrayal of the position at 1966. For consideration of this map, and the comparison between 1921 and 1966, see paragraphs 44–45.

Appendix 2

- (ii) This was most noticeable around the conurbations. The Greater London, West Midlands, Merseyside and Tyneside conurbations were surrounded by rural districts where proportions working in urban areas usually exceeded 10%, and often 20%.
- (iii) Away from the conurbations many free-standing towns had contiguous or surrounding rural districts with 10% or more of their occupied populations commuting to urban employment. Bristol, Norwich, Gloucester, Swindon, Nottingham, Carlisle are a few widely-spaced examples.

29. Map 12 does not, itself, demonstrate that there are commuting links between specific urban areas and the rural districts near them. Most commuting, however, is short range, and map 13 and Table 7 show, for some sample employment centres in the Midlands, that most of the commuting from nearby rural districts was, in fact, into those employment centres.

30. There are certain qualifications to be borne in mind in looking at map 12. One, referred to in the preface to the workplace volume,¹ was that the census was postponed until June 19th, 1921, when the holiday season had started. Consequently in many areas the enumerated figures of apparent residents involved visitors. As a result, a number of unrealistic journey-to-work movements are implied in the tabulations: to take the instance of Alnwick rural district in Northumberland, its enumerated occupied population of 6,418 people in 1921 included a tabulated total of 1,170 people, no less than 18%, whose workplaces were in Tyneside. Many, perhaps most, of these are likely to have been visitors from Tyneside enjoying the beaches and coves of the Northumberland coast.² The census report distinguished 51 rural districts in England where this holiday factor was important enough to give more than a 3% difference between enumerated and normal resident population. The Commission's own calculations suggested that, in 28 of them, at least half of the implied journey-to-work into town areas could be explained in this way, and these rural districts were accordingly excluded from map 12. Also excluded are tabulated movements where long distance made it improbable that they were genuine commuting flows.³

31. Another feature of the 1921 commuting statistics is that many people living in rural districts did not record their place of work, and many others stated they had no fixed workplace. This could easily arise with building workers, or casual agricultural workers. The proportion of occupied residents in these indeterminate categories was as much as 15% in some rural districts. An unknown number of these may have worked in urban areas. All these indeterminate elements were excluded from the calculations as otherwise they would have lowered unduly the proportions shown as commuting to towns in 1921.⁴

1. Census of England and Wales, 1921: Workplaces, p. iv.

2. The distortion extends, of course, to the areas from which holiday visitors came, since their normal commuting movements would not have been recorded there in their absence. This effect, however, is much less serious as it is spread over larger areas and populations.

3. It was difficult to believe, for instance, that in the St. Austell rural district (Cornwall), of some 12,000 occupied people, 54 commuted to work in the L.C.C. area.

4. Taking 1921 in isolation, this might not have affected unduly a comparison between individual rural districts. But it would have militated against a fair comparison of 1921 with 1966. By 1966, for various reasons, the number of indeterminate replies was much fewer.

32. It is worth recording that for the 601 rural districts or part rural districts¹ for which commuting flows into urban areas are ascertainable, the average flow was 14.2%. In 313² rural districts out of the 601 (52%) the flow was under 10%, and in only 8 rural districts did it exceed 50%.

33. There is no published breakdown of census information about journey-to-work for individual parishes. As with the previous discussion of population trends it is obvious that a "whole rural district" basis gives a generalised picture of what must be, in fact, a much more intricate pattern. It is a useful pointer, however, to the extent to which, by 1921, developing suburbia and growing mobility had already caused a number of rural districts to become substantially dependent, for employment, on urban areas. Map 12 also demonstrates that rural districts amounting in total to a large part of the area of England were still mainly self-contained for employment purposes.

AFTER 1945

Renewed growth of mobility

34. Since the war the economic and social links between urban and rural areas have continued to strengthen in many ways. During the war, as figure 2 on page 37 shows, the number of motor vehicles licensed, especially private cars, declined. But in the post-war period real wages have increased, standards of living have generally risen and the unprecedented increase in private cars can be seen from a few basic statistics. In 1945 there were less than 1,500,000 private cars and private vans in Great Britain. The number had become 2,258,000 in 1950 and over 10,000,000 in 1967. The ratio of cars to population in 1967 for the whole of Great Britain was 1 car to 5.2 persons. There are substantial regional variations. In the Northern economic planning region there was only one car to 6.6 persons, but in the South East the ratio was one to 4.6, and in both East Anglia and the South West it was one to 4.2.³

35. The 1966 census gives more detailed information about the ownership and distribution of cars in different parts of the country.⁴ Apart from the broad

1. In 1921 certain rural districts were divided between different administrative counties. Commuting data was provided for each part, and also for several "unnamed rural districts" which were administered as part of another rural district.

2. This includes 49 rural districts with no recorded flow into urban areas. In most, perhaps all, of these cases the flow is likely to have been well below 10%.

3. Ministry of Transport, Highway Statistics, 1967, Tables 1 and 8.

4. Sample census, 1966 England and Wales, Summary Tables and individual county reports, Table 13.

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regional differences in car ownership a common feature is that ownership—expressed as the number of cars per household—is almost invariably lower in towns than in adjacent rural districts. To cite instances:

Gloucester county borough:	·49	cars per household		
Gloucester rural district:	·78	„	„	„
Chelmsford borough:	·61	„	„	„
Chelmsford rural district:	·80	„	„	„
Lancaster borough:	·39	„	„	„
Lancaster rural district:	·72	„	„	„
Lincoln borough:	·44	„	„	„
North Kesteven rural district:	·70	„	„	„
Welton rural district:	·81	„	„	„
Darlington county borough:	·41	„	„	„
Darlington rural district:	·59	„	„	„

For the whole of England and Wales the car ownership rate for all rural districts was ·72 cars per household, but for all urban areas (county boroughs, boroughs and urban districts) ·48 per household. The National Travel Survey 1965¹ shows that there are not only more cars per household in rural than in urban areas, but there are more two-car households, and a smaller proportion of households possessing no mechanically propelled vehicle in rural areas than anywhere else:

Table 3: Household vehicle ownership by type of administrative area

	<i>London built-up area</i>	<i>Manchester and Liverpool built-up areas</i>	<i>Urban areas with populations</i>			<i>Rural areas</i>	<i>Total</i>
			<i>250,000 and over</i>	<i>50,000–100,000</i>	<i>3,000–25,000</i>		
Proportion of households: with no vehicles or only pedal cycles	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	55·4	60·3	60·6	62·0	45·9	41·7	53·8
with motor cycles	3·2	4·3	3·8	3·2	4·6	3·6	4·1
with one car or van	35·6	32·3	31·6	32·0	42·2	45·2	36·7
with two or more cars or vans	5·8	2·9	4·0	2·9	7·2	9·6	5·4
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

1. The National Travel Survey 1965, to be published for the Ministry of Transport by H.M.S.O. later this year. This will also give vehicle ownership for other urban areas than those in the population categories quoted in Table 3 above. In some cases the items in this table do not add to exactly 100·0%; this is due to rounding.

36. A sample traffic census conducted by the Road Research Laboratory at fifty places widely spaced through the country shows an impressive increase in motor vehicle mileage of 107% in the ten years since 1956, an increase applying to all regions¹. Table 4 shows that during the decade the use of motor cycles declined emphatically, while that of public service vehicles stagnated. But goods vehicle mileages have increased by nearly 60%, and car (with taxi) mileages by over 150%

Table 4: Percentage change in vehicle miles by class of vehicle

<i>Class of vehicle</i>	<i>% change in vehicle miles, 1966</i>		
	<i>Since 1965</i>	<i>Since 1960</i>	<i>Since 1956</i>
All motor cycles	- 11	- 43	- 25
Cars and taxis	+ 8	+ 73	+ 153
All goods vehicles	+ 1	+ 23	+ 59
Public service vehicles	0	0	- 1
All motor vehicles	+ 6	+ 50	+ 107

37. The National Travel Survey in 1964² provided information about the number of road journeys made by car-owning and non car-owning households. The average household—of 2.9 members—made 33 journeys per week, an average per head of over 11 journeys weekly. For people in car-owning households the average per head was 14.5 journeys, and for those in non car-owning households 9.7 journeys. The purposes of their journeys may be summarised as follows:

Table 5: Average weekly number of journeys per head for persons:

	<i>(a) in car-owning households</i>	<i>(b) in non car-owning households</i>
<i>Purpose of journey</i>		
To or from work	4.8	4.1
To or from school or college and in course of work	2.2	1.0
For shopping and personal business	2.6	1.8
Other travel: personal, social, holidays, pleasure	4.9	2.8
	<u>14.5</u>	<u>9.7</u>

1. Ministry of Transport, Road Research Laboratory, *50-point traffic census, results for 1966, 1967*.

2. Ministry of Transport, *National Travel Survey—1964, Part II—Personal Travel by Public and Private Transport, March, 1967, Table 3B*.

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Furthermore people in car-owning households made longer journeys: an average of over 90 miles per week each, compared with less than 45 for those from households without a car.¹ These figures verify the common-sense assumption that people with their own cars make more and longer journeys, for whatever purpose, than people relying only on public transport; and the differences appear to arise mainly over personal, social, entertainment and other leisure journeys rather than over journey to work.

Recreational aspects

38. An earlier part of this appendix has shown that with the movement of people out of the congested inner areas of towns, first into suburbs, later deep into rural districts, a new commuting relationship had developed by 1921 between urban and rural administrative areas. It was becoming normal for an appreciable number of people in the territory surrounding a town to travel to the town for employment (map 12). This, it must be emphasised, was a new relationship. Before transport had improved sufficiently to encourage a fairly wide separation of workplace and residence, towns were largely self-contained for employment.

39. Transport improvements and greater personal mobility have also fostered another comparatively new aspect of town and country relationships. Before the industrial period few townspeople visited the countryside for its scenery. The heather and gorse commons of Surrey were often sneered at as "villainous black wastes", as in William Cobbett's "Rural Rides". Even the Lake District was generally regarded as awesome and uninviting. The Romantic poets began to change that attitude, and later the nineteenth century excursion train and the bicycle helped many townspeople to know and appreciate the country.

40. The continued growth in personal mobility and shorter working hours have combined to increase town dwellers' use of the countryside. The Cyclists' Touring Club was founded as long ago as 1878, the Ramblers' Association in 1905, and the Youth Hostels Association in 1929. Action by local authorities has also helped—for example, the purchase of Epping Forest by the City of London and of Surrey common land by the London County Council greatly encouraged Londoners to go out into the countryside within easy reach. There have been legislative measures too. Under the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, national parks were established and the use of certain long-distance walking routes assured. Planning authorities were authorised to map footpaths. The Countryside Act of 1968 encourages the setting up of country parks and regional parks. Such parks are to cater mainly for nearby urban populations (whereas the national parks have a nation-wide appeal) and they seem destined to strengthen the recreational relationship between towns and the rural areas around them.²

41. Townspeople use the countryside for an enormous variety of recreational purposes—the contemplation of unspoiled natural scenery in the Lake District or Yorkshire Moors, boating, sailing, aquatics and fishing in converted gravel workings within a 10 mile drive, or less, of a big town—and visits to the many country seats and gardens open to the public, to mention only a few examples.

1. *National Travel Survey*—1964, Part II, Table 4B.

2. Michael Dower, 'Fourth Wave: the challenge of leisure', a Civic Trust survey reprinted from the *Architects' Journal*, January, 1965.

In addition, a growing number of townspeople have a week-end cottage in the country. The recreational importance of the countryside is illustrated by one of the findings of the Commission's own Community Attitudes Survey.¹ Of twelve varied kinds of recreation, the most frequently mentioned was visits to the countryside for pleasure or recreation. 58% of the informants made such visits at least once a month, compared with only 36% making visits of the same frequency to public parks or gardens, 17% to football, rugby or cricket matches, and 10% to cinemas.

42. Conversely, the increasingly mobile rural population uses, in ever greater measure, the recreational facilities provided by towns: the cinema, theatre, concerts, professional football, libraries. Rural populations are also brought into close relationship with nearby towns through reading local daily papers published in those towns. The Community Attitudes Survey found that readership of local morning newspapers was higher in rural districts than in any other type of local authority area. A factor bearing on this use of town services by rural populations (and applying also to shopping) is that growing proportions of the people living in rural districts have links with the towns. Many have migrated into rural areas from nearby large towns, continue to work in towns and are accustomed to urban entertainment and services.

Current commuting patterns

43. The successive census volumes giving journey-to-work information (1921, 1951, 1961 and 1966) show that commuting has greatly increased in volume, the proportion of the working population involved and distance travelled. One point of great importance here is the continued growth, relative to employment in manufacturing industry, of employment in service trades. This is a feature of all advanced economies. The bulk of people in these occupations—commercial, financial, professional, retail, administrative and others—work in towns.² Towns, therefore, for this reason among others, are stronger magnets for employment than ever before. The fact, too, that many of these newer jobs are highly paid increases the likelihood that people in such occupations will live outside town areas, often at a considerable distance.

44. In view of these factors and the growth of personal mobility it is not surprising that the 1966 census showed that the total number of people who worked outside the local authority area in which they resided was no less than 34% of the economically active population in employment in England as a whole (apart from Greater London). In 1921 the corresponding proportion was only 21%. Commuting from rural districts as a whole increased far more than this, from 22% to 47%. These impressive increases occurred despite the fall in the number of local authorities from over 1,600 to about 1,200 between 1921 and 1966, and the big extensions of urban areas at the expense of rural districts, both having the effect of reducing the number of people who crossed local authority boundaries on their way to work. Between 1921 and 1966 urban

1. Community Attitudes Survey, by Research Services Ltd., on behalf of the Government Social Survey, H.M.S.O. 1969.

2. One of the present-day imponderables is the extent to which some, at any rate, of these secondary activities can be decentralised from towns. Much, of course, turns on their accessibility. Where personal contact remains important they are more likely to remain in town areas which are the focus of routes. But even in retail trade there is likely to be some move towards the "out of town" shopping centre.

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areas gained 1,344,286 acres from rural districts, adding more than a quarter to the total urban acreage. These extensions took in the more urbanised parts of rural districts, where large numbers of commuters lived.

45. Map 12 shows the proportion of the economically active population in each rural district working in urban areas in 1966, and this may be compared with the corresponding rates in 1921. A glance is sufficient to show how the dependence of rural districts on towns for employment has increased. The essential differences are plain from the following table. It shows, among other things, that in well over half the rural districts in 1966 at least 30% of economically active residents worked in towns.

Table 6: Journey-to-work flows from rural districts to urban areas, 1921 and 1966

Total occupied or economically active population in rural districts ¹		Total travelling into urban areas from rural districts No. %		Numbers of rural districts ² with proportions travelling to urban areas:								Total of rural districts
				Under 10%	10— 20%	20— 30%	30— 40%	40— 50%	50— 60%	60% and over		
1921	2,725,700	387,400	14.2	313	154	77	36	13	5	3	555	
1966	3,998,700	1,495,700	37.4	32	61	88	81	71	53	27	413	

46. Another facet of the increasing separation of workplace and residence and the growing interdependence, for employment, of urban and rural areas is shown on map 14. The map is in two sections, relating to 1921 and 1966, and shows all the larger employment centres (outside London), these being defined as urban administrative areas with an employed "daytime" population of at least 10,000.³ It is immediately clear from the map that in almost every case a much higher proportion of the town's daytime population lived outside in 1966 than in 1921. (It will be noticed too that there were more employment centres defined in 1966 than in 1921. With the general growth in population more places reached the threshold of a daytime population of 10,000; and a number of new urban administrative areas were created after 1921 which qualified for inclusion in 1966.)

47. The growth of employment in urban areas also reflects the decline of many small-scale industries, once strongly represented in rural areas—like brewing, flour milling, brickmaking—and now centred in large-scale production units mostly in or near towns where there are geographical and economic advantages. This process of urban concentration has been only slightly offset by dispersal of employment through planning policy or business choice. As a whole, jobs are increasingly concentrated at relatively few points. This important aspect is referred to in a recent study by R. Lawton, which discusses the growth in urban working populations from 1951 to 1961 in some detail⁴.

1. The phrase "economically active population in employment" excludes unemployed persons and those with no fixed workplace or who did not state their workplace.

2. Also includes for 1921 part rural districts for which separate journey to work statistics are available. The 1921 total of 313 rural districts with under 10% travelling into urban areas includes 49 with no recorded movement, and the 1966 total of 32 rural districts 3 with no such recorded movement. Most if not all of these unrecorded movements are likely to have been below 10%.

3. "Daytime" employed population comprises people living in the area and working within it, together with those travelling into it for work from outside it.

4. R. Lawton, 'The Journey to Work in Britain: some trends and problems,' *Regional Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 27-39, 1968.

48. Census commuting data have also been used to show the actual territory from which commuting movements to specific employment centres take place.¹ Map 13 shows the commuting catchment areas at 1921 and 1966 for three large Midland centres whose economies expanded over this period—Coventry, Leicester and Northampton. Their inland situation meant that they were little affected by the holiday factor already mentioned as distorting commuting figures in 1921. These centres are also in many ways typical of the prosperous midlands and south of England. For each date two catchment areas have been drawn; one encloses local authority areas from which 100 workers travelled to each of these three centres, and the other those from which 500 workers travelled. Census information relates to whole local authority areas but in drawing catchment areas we paid regard to the settlement pattern and to the system of communications, and thus smoothed out some of the artificialities of local authority boundaries. The widening of catchment areas, and the greater volume of commuting movements is very clear from map 13. The increasing volume of commuting flows is summarised in this table:

Table 7: Volume of commuting into Coventry, Leicester and Northampton county boroughs in 1921 and 1966

	Coventry		Leicester		Northampton	
	1921	1966	1921	1966	1921	1966
Total daytime working population in the C.B.	63,253	190,260	125,439	180,400	43,938	67,180
Working population travelling in from outside	14,256 (22.5%)	40,630 (21.1%)	10,566 (8.6%)	49,560 (27.4%)	4,094 (9.3%)	11,860 (17.6%)
Working population travelling in from within the 500 workers limit	11,102 (17.5%)	36,960 (19.3%)	6,453 (5.1%)	44,620 (24.7%)	2,298 (5.2%)	8,410 (12.5%)
Working population travelling in from beyond the 500, but within the 100 workers limit	1,242 (1.9%)	1,860 (0.9%)	1,226 (0.9%)	2,460 (1.3%)	216 (0.5%)	1,170 (1.7%)

49. Coventry, alone among the three examples, shows a slightly lower proportion of its working population coming from outside in 1966 (21.1%) than in 1921 (22.5%). This is because boundary extensions have brought inside the county borough most of the rapid urban growth that took place with the expansion of the car industry. But the total numbers travelling in from outside the city rose from 14,000 to over 40,000, despite boundary extensions.

1. An early example of this is R. Westergaard, *Journeys-to-work in the London Region*, *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 28, April 1957.

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50. The relative importance of commuting flows, as a proportion of the local resident occupied population, can have great social significance, irrespective of the actual numbers involved. We therefore included in map 13 the number of commuters into the three towns expressed as a proportion of the total occupied population of each local authority area. In almost every instance the dependence of the surrounding local authority areas on these three employment centres has increased since 1921. In 1921, 1,544 residents in Blaby rural district worked in Leicester, 19.4% of Blaby's occupied population; in 1966, 15,290 Blaby rural district residents worked in Leicester, 50.1% of the rural district's total economically active population. More distant rural areas showed smaller but significant increases. From Market Harborough rural district only 256 residents worked in Leicester in 1921, 7.0% of the local occupied population; by 1966, 840 worked in Leicester, or 18.1%.

51. Map 15 extends this examination of commuting data for 1966 to cover the whole country. For clarity only the largest employment centres (outside Greater London) are shown, defined as having a daytime working population of 25,000 people and over. With one exception the centres correspond with those examined in the south east by the Greater London Group,¹ who used a double criterion: a "job density" of at least 5 workers per acre, and a minimum of 20,000 daytime workers. The only difference outside Greater London is that we exclude Reigate. For each centre the limit of the commuting catchment area has been taken as a movement of 500 workers from individual local authority areas into that centre. Map 15 shows also the magnitude of the flow of commuters into each employment centre from within the catchment area.

52. The map illustrates only a part of the whole complex pattern of commuting. Smaller employment centres also have their own catchment areas, and their commuting flows can be considerable. For example, nearly 6,000 people out of King's Lynn's daytime working population of 17,490 came from outside the town, drawn from a wide area of rural west Norfolk and part of the Holland area of Lincolnshire. But the catchment areas of the main employment centres cover a large part of the country. The chief areas not included in them are Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, west Suffolk, west Norfolk, parts of Lincolnshire, the Lake District, the north Pennines and the Cheviots on the Scottish border. Yet most rural districts in these areas have at least 20%, and many as much as 40% of their economically active residents working in towns, in this case local towns with less than 25,000 daytime population.

Recent changes in population distribution

53. From 1956 to 1966 the total population of England (including Greater London) increased by 3,712,000 from 41,563,000 to 45,275,000, a rise of 8.9%. Map 11 shows that this increase was very unequally distributed over the country. But, compared with population trends from 1891 to 1901 (also on map 11) it is plain that in the later period there were many fewer local authorities with declining populations. It is also apparent that more rural districts were now increasing in population, and that more urban authorities were declining, as compared with 1891-1901, when the present local government system was in its early years. In fact, in many parts of England the population trends in

1. Research Study 1: Local Government in the South East, H.M.S.O., 1968.

urban and surrounding or nearby rural areas have been reversed. In 1891-1901 a common pattern was the town increasing briskly in population, with nearby rural districts declining. Now it is often the town which is declining and the rural districts which show a steep proportional rise in population. This is less true of south east England, where almost all areas, urban and rural alike, have increased in population, and where the steep rises in some urban areas are due to their planned growth as new towns. The essence of the comparison between conditions at the time of the setting up of the local government system, and now, is in the following table:

Table 8: Percentages of differing types of local authorities (excluding London) with declining populations, 1891-1901 and 1956-1966

<i>Type, and number (in brackets) of all local authorities in 1901</i>	<i>1891-1901 Percentages of authorities with declines of:</i>			<i>1956-1966 Percentages of authorities with declines of:</i>			<i>Type, and number (in brackets) of all local authorities in 1966</i>
	<i>Up 10%</i>	<i>to Over 10%</i>	<i>All declines</i>	<i>Up 10%</i>	<i>to Over 10%</i>	<i>All declines</i>	
C.B.s (64)	3.1	0.0	3.1	36.7	1.3	38.0	C.B.s (78)
M.B.s (217)	22.1	1.8	23.9	17.0	0.0	17.0	M.B.s (238)
U.D.s (734)	17.3	3.7	21.0	13.0	0.9	13.9	U.D.s (462)
All urban areas (1,015)	17.3	3.1	20.4	16.6	0.7	17.3	All urban areas (778)
R.D.s (600)	49.5	10.1	59.6	16.3	1.2	17.5	R.D.s (413)
All local authorities (1,615)	29.3	5.7	35.0	16.5	0.9	17.4	All local authorities (1,191)

54. From 1956 to 1966 only a minority of rural districts (about 17%) declined in population, whereas from 1891 to 1901 60% declined. But over 38% of county boroughs declined in population from 1956 to 1966, compared with only 3% from 1891 to 1901. The reasons why so many county boroughs are losing population include their large proportions of old and unfit housing; the steady replacement of this older, high-density housing by new building at generally lower densities; shortage of land; social problems; and the fact that improved methods of transport and higher real incomes allow more and more people who work in towns to satisfy their desire to have their homes in a more rural setting. The biggest population losses were from the centres of Liverpool (61,000 people, or 8%), Manchester (61,000, or 9%) and Newcastle (23,000, or 8%); Birmingham, however, declined by only 8,000, or just under 1%. Likewise Sheffield declined by nearly 7,000 (just over 1%) and Leeds by 1,200 (under 1%). Free-standing county boroughs also often lost population between 1956 and 1966, or grew at only a very modest rate: Stoke-on-Trent lost 7,500 people, 3% of its population; Leicester 10,000 or 3.3%; Bristol 12,200 or 2.8%.

55. But from the standpoint of the relationship of urban and rural administrative areas, the most significant feature of map 11 is the rapid rate of population growth in most rural districts. Some of these are close to towns, and much of the increase is in large estates or suburbs. But many increases occur in areas

which were declining in 1891–1901. Some of them are some distance from large or medium sized urban areas, and do not contain developments which can be regarded as suburban. Their population increase is largely accounted for by many small-scale developments scattered almost throughout the rural district. This population growth is now seldom, if ever, connected with agriculture, which is a declining source of employment. It is a growth in what the late Professor Sir Dudley Stamp¹ called the “adventitious” element of rural population—people, whether active or retired, who have no connection with agriculture or its ancillary activities. Undoubtedly some of the population growth in remoter rural districts is through the arrival of retired people. Some, too, is because of immigration of people working in towns. Part, again, is because mobility allows people in rural districts whose work is outside their area and who previously would have migrated from it, to continue living there.

56. As with the 1891–1901 period, we supplement data for whole rural districts with figures for individual parishes² for sample areas around Norwich on figure 1 on page 36. Clearly more parishes have shared in the overall growth of population in the latter period than in 1891–1901. Yet some have still declined. Not all of these were the most remote from Norwich. Under modern conditions of planning control the rate of population change in particular areas around towns is closely affected by policy. There are impediments to development: green belts, areas of high landscape or amenity value, large scale mineral working, good quality agricultural land, and many others. But the overall differences between current population trends and those of 1891–1901 are clear enough.

57. Little or no reference has been made to absolute, as distinct from proportional, population changes. Nor has any breakdown been given of population change into its components of natural change and net migration. These aspects have been well covered in the series of planning maps on the scale of ten miles to the inch (compiled by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and published by the Ordnance Survey) covering changes for periods from 1921 onwards. A study of population changes from these maps and other sources, was published in 1953 by E. C. Willatts and M. G. C. Newson.³ This showed clearly that the rising population in many rural districts around or close to towns, especially since 1931, was largely a reflection of net inward migration, although not necessarily from the nearby town.

58. The 1966 census, including data on the origin and destination of migrants,⁴ confirms that a large proportion of migrants from most large towns settles at no great distance away. Appendix 3 discusses this in detail. It examines the age and status of the migrants and their continuing links with the centres from which they came. Map 16 shows migration from some Midland towns to the rural districts around them in the period from 1961 to 1966. Administrative areas, around each town, which received at least 200 migrants from the town have been regarded as forming a “local migration area” for that town. Most of this territory is within about 20 miles of the town. As many as 60% of the

1. L. Dudley Stamp, *The planning of land use* (presidential address to Section E of the British Association, 1949). The Advancement of Science, Vol. 6, No. 23, 1949.

2. Population changes are also shown for individual wards within Norwich county borough.

3. E. C. Willatts and M. G. C. Newson, *The Geographical pattern of population changes in England and Wales, 1921–1951*, *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 119, pp. 431–494, 1953.

4. Sample census, 1966, *Regional Migration Reports*, Table 7.

migrants from some towns settled in their "local migration areas", which of course included smaller urban areas as well as rural districts. From the standpoint of the "reception areas", many rural districts received as many as 20% of all their inward migrants from the nearby large towns, in some instances over 40%.

59. Map 10 shows, for the whole country, population changes by individual wards and parishes from 1951 to 1961. This map illustrates absolute as well as proportionate population changes. It shows that almost every town in the country is surrounded by a zone of increasing population. Often the inner wards of towns have declining population, whereas in outlying wards as well as in many parishes surrounding the towns, populations are increasing. This decentralisation of population from towns into surrounding areas, and often deep into rural districts, has become a main feature of present-day life. Rising standards of living, greater leisure and unprecedented personal mobility have combined to give more people the opportunity to seek more space and privacy on the outskirts of towns or in rural areas than has so far been possible in the older centres of towns. The trend is epitomised by estimates, derived from Dr. Best and Professor Coppock,¹ that whereas in 1901 England and Wales' total population of 32,528,000 occupied 2.0 million acres of developed urban land, in 1960 45,755,000 occupied 4.0 million acres; the urban "ration" rose from 61 acres per thousand of population to 87 acres per thousand.

Territorial aspects of town and country relationships

60. Apart from commuting catchment areas, no indications have so far been given in this appendix of the territorial extent of the areas over which specific towns exert their influence. There have been many attempts to grade and classify towns as economic and social centres, and to plot the limits of their influence. The pioneer in this field was Walter Christaller, whose study of central places in South Germany appeared in 1933.² The basis of his approach was that a minimum population was necessary for the profitable supply of any specific service or article. A theatre, for instance, needed a larger catchment area to attain such a population than a shop selling bread or a similar commodity in universal and constant demand. This led Christaller to grade towns—"central places"—into a hierarchy, from the highest, containing virtually all services, down to small villages supporting only a general store. The difficulties, as Christaller found, are to give precise expression both to this idea of a hierarchy of centres and to the territory over which people are orientated to a centre for their shopping and other needs and services.

61. In Britain an attempt to classify places in the urban hierarchy and define their areas of influence was made by Professor A. E. Smailes in two papers published in 1944 and 1947,³ but based largely on pre-war information about urban shopping, professional and other facilities. In about 1948 two planning officers of the then Ministry of Town and Country Planning, W. I. Waide and

1. R. H. Best and J. T. Coppock, *The changing use of land in Britain*, 1962.

2. Walter Christaller, *Die Zentralen Orte in Sueddeutschland*, 1933 (a translation, C. W. Baskin, *Central places in southern Germany*, appeared in 1966).

3. A. E. Smailes, "The analysis and delimitation of urban fields", *Geography*, Vol. 32, 1947, and "The urban hierarchy in England and Wales", *Geography*, Volume 29, pp. 41-51, 1944.

G. E. Hutchings, carried out a questionnaire survey in East Anglia. For each village this survey recorded which towns most local residents turned to for specific kinds of shopping, cinemas, theatres, concerts, dental, medical and hospital treatment, and so on. From their replies catchment areas of the main towns were defined.

62. The first attempt to delimit such catchment areas for the whole country was made by F. H. W. Green, then also a planning officer in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, as a contribution to the new development plans under the 1947 Act. The allocation of land in town centres for residential, commercial and business uses could have been highly unrealistic without regard to the total populations using them. Green devised a method of analysing bus services in order to define urban centres and their catchment areas. The basis of his approach was that the existence of a bus route meant that it satisfied a public demand, and the centres to which the routes led were those that most people wished to go to. Centres were defined as places with some "magnetism" for buses, in that at least one service from smaller places terminated there. Bus services to and from each centre were mapped, and in most cases it was a simple matter to draw limits within which that centre was more accessible to local populations by bus than other centres were. Green's published studies¹ distinguished about 950 centres in Great Britain (with the collaboration of the Department of Health for Scotland) each with a surrounding "sphere of influence". Such centres and hinterlands were deemed to represent a comparatively low level in the hierarchy of urban centres. If such a hierarchy might be regarded as having four, admittedly somewhat overlapping, grades, Green's centres belonged to the lowest or fourth order, the kind to which people would mostly go for weekly shopping and other frequently recurring needs.

63. Another study was by L. S. Jay and G. P. Hirsch, using the Board of Trade Census of Distribution (1950). They evolved a technique for estimating the area of a town's influence on the basis that a town with a level of retail sales per head well above that of the surrounding territory was likely to be functioning as a sales centre for that territory².

64. A common distinction in studies of retail shopping is between "convenience" or "flow" goods and "shopping" or "luxury" goods. The former are mainly groceries and other items required frequently, while consumer durables and clothing come in the latter category. A useful analysis from the Census of Distribution (1960) using this distinction was made by Heather Bliss for three important shopping centres, Bedford, Cambridge and Norwich.³ Assuming that these towns' own populations spent at the rate of the regional average per

1. F. H. W. Green, *Urban Hinterlands in England and Wales: an analysis of Bus Services*. *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 116, pp. 64-129, 1950.

Ministry of Town and Country Planning "Local Accessibility," map on scale of 1/625,000 or about Ten Miles to the units published by the Ordnance Survey, 1955. An Explanatory Text "Local Accessibility" was published by the Ordnance Survey, 1955.

2. They filled in deficiencies in the Board of Trade tabulations by estimating the level of retail sales for additional areas. L. S. Jay and G. P. Hirsch, "The Comparative Analysis of Settlement", *Sociologia Rurales*, Vol. 1, 1960.

3. Heather Bliss "Local changes in shopping potential: difficulties encountered in interpreting Census of Distribution data". *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, Vol. 51, pp. 334-337, 1965.

head on all classes of goods, then in Bedford 11% of the sales of "flow" goods could be attributed to people from outside the town, as compared with 53% of "shopping" goods sales. For Cambridge the comparable figures were 13% and 56% and for Norwich 13% and 55%. Such analyses point to the current importance of shopping by rural populations in towns. So far as they go, they support the concept of a hierarchy of towns, with the centres at higher rungs providing more specialised shopping for very wide areas, while those at lower levels serve narrower catchment areas. The spatial aspects of this concept of a series of overlapping catchment areas—wheels within wheels—each an entity comprising "town" and "country", were carried forward some way by W. I. Carruthers.¹

65. Carruthers used the same basis—bus services for 1948–1949—as F. H. W. Green. His analysis, however, compared the number and frequency of services between the various centres and distinguished, in England, 9 second order centres or provincial capitals and their hinterlands (for example, Birmingham and Manchester) and some 132 third order or regional centres and their hinterlands. Carruthers' use of bus services led to a general classification of centres and their hinterlands, not limited to shopping.

66. The rise of the car, and relative stagnation of the bus, have cast doubts on the adequacy of bus services as a sound guide to the accessibility of towns from rural areas and vice versa.² But a recent analysis of bus services in 1965 for southern England, covering the area from Cornwall to Kent, showed surprisingly little change compared with the pattern of about fifteen years earlier.³ Few new centres had emerged, and the catchment areas were mostly fairly constant. This may not indicate, however, that car users always go to the same centres as bus travellers. A Kent county council shopping survey showed that while car users often follow the same routes as buses, the choice made possible by a car often means that several alternative centres are used.

67. As an illustration of how current bus services were used to give an indication of the rural areas served by towns, figure 3 on page 38 shows the 1966–1967 pattern of bus services around Peterborough. Surrounding the town there is a substantial territory which is more accessible to Peterborough by bus than to any other centre. This corresponds fairly closely to the local or "fourth order" influence distinguished by Green using bus timetables for 1947–48. But some of the smaller centres around Peterborough, which have their own local areas of influence, are also more accessible to Peterborough than to other big centres such as Northampton, Leicester or Lincoln. There is, therefore, a wider area than that shown on figure 3 which, even on the basis of bus services, looks to Peterborough. Within this wider area, consumers are likely to exercise their choice (increasingly by car) between Peterborough as a main centre and such other smaller centres as Wisbech, Stamford or Spalding.

1. W. I. Carruthers, A classification of service centres in England and Wales, *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 123, pp. 371–385, 1957.

2. A survey of the addresses of car owners parking their vehicles in Haddington, Scotland on a market day in 1951 showed that the town's catchment area for private cars was virtually the same as for buses. See F. H. W. Green and J. B. Fleming, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 68, No. 1, April 1952.

3. F. H. W. Green, "Urban hinterlands: fifteen years on". A review of the British Bus Services map, compiled by J. C. Gillham, 1965, *Geographical Journal*, Volume 132, June 1966.

68. Many later studies bear upon the varying provision of services by towns for the areas surrounding them. In an analysis of the Board of Trade Census of Distribution, 1961, Carruthers developed three indices of the importance and status of major shopping centres.¹ One was the expenditure attracted from outside the centre, (also used in Jay's and Hirsch's earlier work). Another was the percentage of the retail turnover of the central area in goods other than food. The third was concerned with the presence of shops selling certain other kinds of durable goods: jewellery, women's wear, radio and electrical goods. G. W. Kearsley, of the Geography Department, Queen Mary College, University of London, in a study so far unpublished, took seven groups of functions—retail outlets, commerce, professional functions, medical facilities, educational institutions, importance for administration, entertainment functions—and on this basis graded urban centres into an urban hierarchy. Using similar methods R. D. P. Smith² took some 36 items indicative of the economic importance of urban centres. These ranged from items found in towns at quite low levels in the urban hierarchy (such as banks, cinemas, accountants), to those found at higher levels (certain multiple stores, two or more local newspapers, theatres, a general hospital with 500 or more beds, a morning newspaper, a principal orchestra or a television studio).

69. The investigation of empirical data relating to the economic and social links of towns and surrounding rural areas, has been paralleled by the development of formal theories of "central places" and their hinterlands. An early example is "Reilly's law", a pioneer enunciation of 1929 which invoked the analogy of gravity to state a relationship between the strength of a centre (measurable in several different ways) and the distance over which its pull can compete effectively with rival centres. This principle is the basis of later and more sophisticated formulae, which have been applied since to the construction of various "gravity models". Apart from their intrinsic interest as a part of academic geography they have been applied to several practical problems, such as evaluating the effect of a proposed development of an "out of town" shopping centre at Haydock in Lancashire (between Liverpool and Manchester).³

Conclusions

70. These may be set out in the following six points:

- (1) The strength of the relationship between town and country has fluctuated. Before the industrial period towns served limited agricultural hinterlands as marketing and trading centres. With industrialisation many towns grew up which had virtually no connection with nearby rural areas. Now a new relationship between town and country has grown up, which is closer than at any previous period.

1. W. I. Carruthers, "Major Shopping Centres in England and Wales, 1961", *Regional Studies*, Volume 1, pp. 65–81, 1967.

2. R. D. P. Smith, "The changing urban hierarchy", *Regional Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 1–9, 1968.

3. Regional Shopping Centres: a planning report on north west England. Part 2: a retail shopping model (Department of Town and Country Planning, University of Manchester, 1966). Another study, using to some extent a gravity model technique, is that carried out by the West Midlands Branch of the Town Planning Institute, *Predicting Shopping Requirements*, 1967.

- (2) Taken as a whole, populations in rural districts are now growing at a faster rate than in any class of urban area. Population is flowing from towns into surrounding areas, much of it into rural areas. With greater mobility rural districts are also holding on to population, which, at earlier periods, migrated into towns. The position is epitomised by the fact that in 1891-1901 58% of rural districts were losing population, but in 1956-1966 only 17%.
- (3) Another pointer, closely related to these population trends, is the much greater dependence of rural districts on urban areas for employment. In 1921, near the start of the motor age, the journey-to-work movement from rural into urban areas averaged 14.2% of the economically active population of all rural districts; by 1966 it was 37.4%. In terms of numbers travelling into towns to work, the increase was nearer four-fold, from 387,000 to 1,495,700.
- (4) Interdependence between urban and rural areas also shows itself, in modern conditions of mobility, in the use by rural populations of town shops, professional, entertainment, recreational and many other services. Conversely, urban populations use rural areas, particularly for recreation.
- (5) It seems inevitable that all these forms of interdependence between town and country will intensify. Estimates suggest that the number of cars in Great Britain, now 10 million, could rise to 19 million by 1981. As the redevelopment of the older parts of towns goes ahead people will continue to move into areas now predominantly rural.
- (6) The interdependence of urban and rural areas in economic and social terms has vital implications for land use planning and transportation. Effective policy and decision-making in these two fields is impossible for urban and rural authorities acting separately.

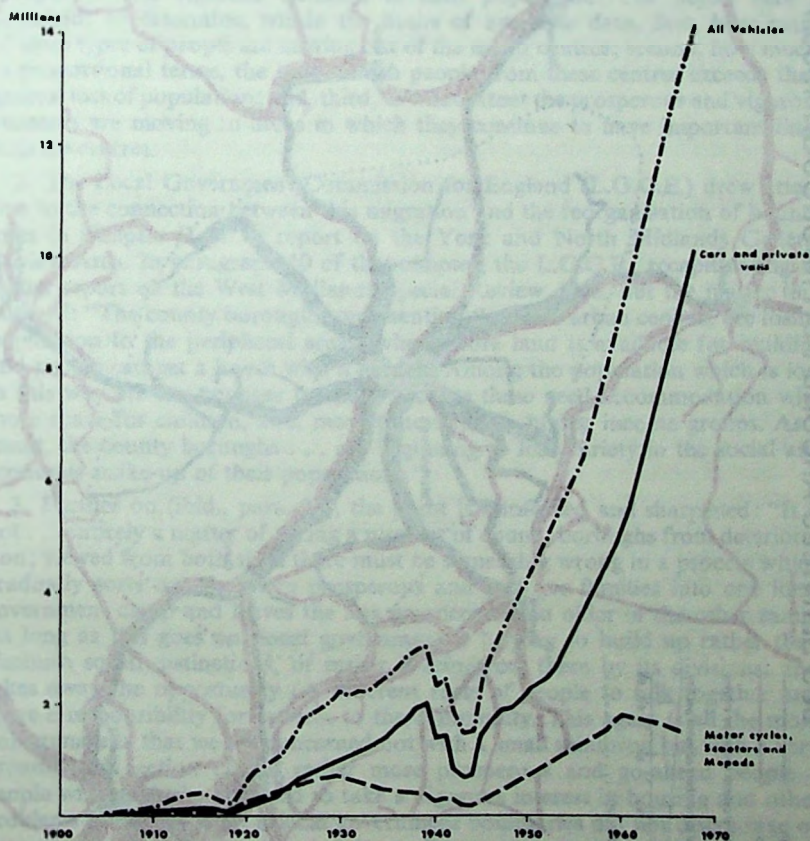
PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGES AROUND NORWICH 1891-1901 AND 1951-1961

By Wards and Civil Parishes



Fig. 2

MOTOR VEHICLES CURRENTLY LICENSED IN GREAT BRITAIN 1904-1967

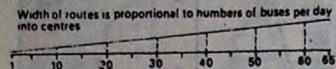


Source: Ministry of Transport, Highway Statistics, 1967

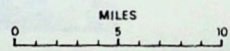
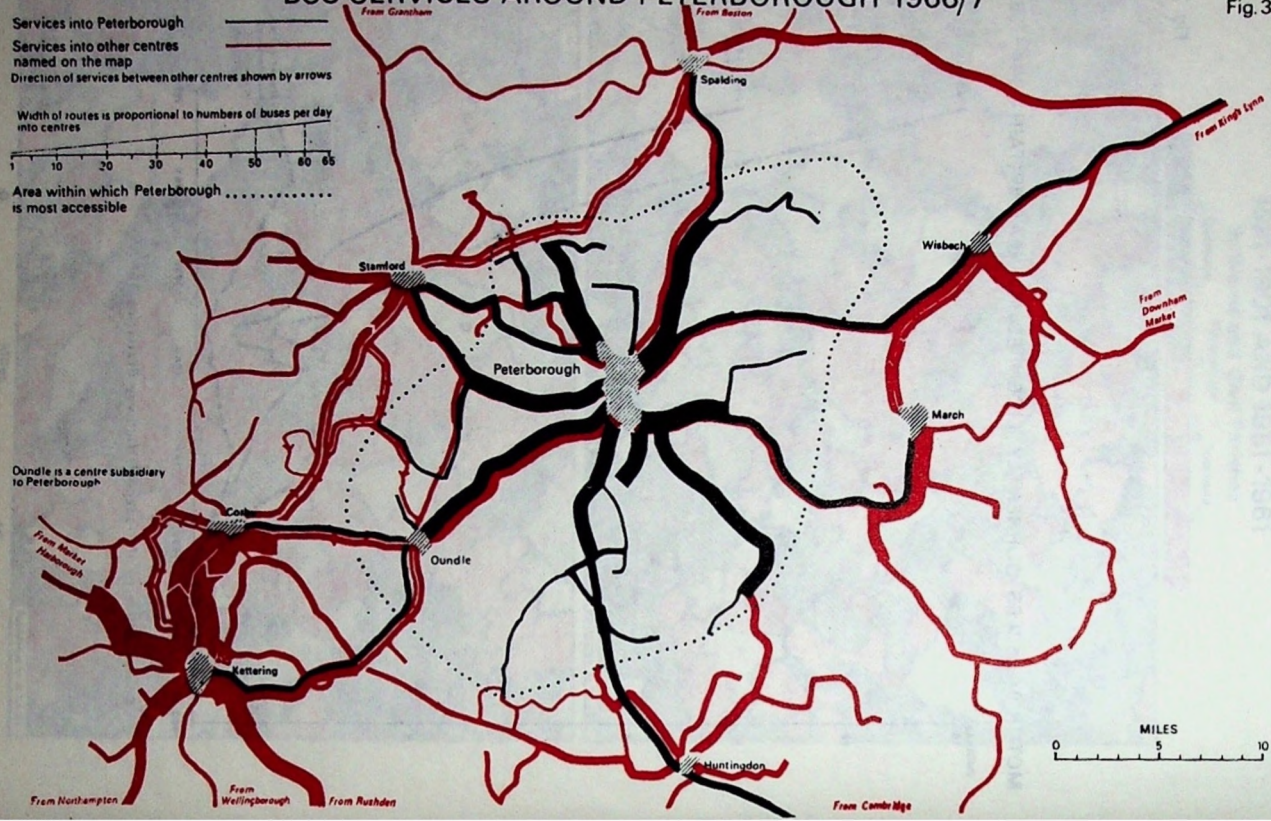
Fig. 3

BUS SERVICES AROUND PETERBOROUGH 1966/7

Services into Peterborough ———
 Services into other centres named on the map ———
 Direction of services between other centres shown by arrows
 Width of routes is proportional to numbers of buses per day into centres
 Area within which Peterborough is most accessible



Oundle is a centre subsidiary to Peterborough



APPENDIX 3

MIGRATION BETWEEN MAJOR CENTRES AND THEIR SURROUNDING AREAS

Introduction

1. This appendix is concerned with the steady loss by most major towns of prosperous and vigorous elements in their population. The object here is threefold: to determine, within the limits of available data, first, how many of these types of people are moving out of the major centres; second, how much, in proportional terms, the loss of such people from these centres exceeds their general loss of population; and, third, to what extent the prosperous and vigorous elements are moving to areas in which they continue to have important links with the centres.

2. The Local Government Commission for England (L.G.C.E.) drew attention to the connection between this migration and the reorganisation of boundaries in Chapter II of its report on the York and North Midlands General Review Area. In paragraph 10 of that chapter, the L.G.C.E., recapitulating its earlier report on the West Midlands Special Review Area, put the matter in a nutshell: "The county boroughs, representing the main urban centres, are losing population to the peripheral areas, where more land is available for building and people can get a house with a garden. Among the population which is lost in this way are the younger families, because these need accommodation with more space for children, and, more generally, the higher income groups. As a result, the county boroughs . . . are beginning to lose variety in the social and economic make-up of their populations."

3. Further on (*ibid.*, para. 26), the point is reinforced and sharpened: "It is not . . . entirely a matter of saving a number of county boroughs from deterioration; viewed from both sides there must be something wrong in a process which gradually sorts out the more prosperous and younger families into one local government camp and leaves the less prosperous and older in the other camp. As long as this goes on, local government is helping to build up rather than diminish social distinctions, or rather it reinforces them by its divisions, and takes away the opportunity for different sorts of people to talk together and share a responsibility for services to the community. This again is all the more unfortunate in that we are concerned not with a small minority, but with a very broad-based section of the rather more prosperous and go-ahead people—people who might be expected to take a vigorous interest in housing and other problems in the big town if local government boundaries did not discourage or even prevent most of them from doing so."

4. The L.G.C.E.'s observations were based only partly on factual data. That most county boroughs were losing populations to surrounding counties was a well quantified fact. But the nature and quality of the loss had not, at the time of the L.G.C.E.'s report, been analysed in the kind of detail that became possible with the 1961 and 1966 censuses of population. The Royal Commission has not only had access to published data from both censuses, but has also been able

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to enlist the co-operation of the General Register Office—which it gratefully acknowledges—in the production of the special migration analyses made in this appendix.

Defining terms

5. The L.G.C.E.'s description of the kind of people most involved in the movement out of cities, i.e. young families, either independently or to council housing schemes, and the professional and managerial groups, does not, of course, represent the whole of the movement of population in and out of towns. The centrifugal movements are balanced to some extent by the magnetism of the core city to the young and the prosperous as a centre of employment, shopping and entertainment. This applies especially to younger, single or newly-married people, who prefer more centrally placed accommodation. Any analysis must take account of this in-migration.

6. Nor is it a straightforward matter to define precisely the descriptions "prosperous" and "vigorous" used by the L.G.C.E. They had to be defined in terms of the best available and reliable series of data, and the population census appeared the best. The prosperous element seemed to be well represented by the professional and managerial grouping used by the General Register Office in compiling a simple socio-economic 'profile' of populations¹.

7. For the vigorous element of the population, the numbers economically active in the 25-44 age group were used. The choice of this age group was determined partly by ready availability of data. Clearly it would be absurd to suggest that the sections of the working population outside the 25-44 range are disqualified from the description of "vigorous". But this age group did seem an especially vital part of the working population, excluding as it did the youngest, apprentice elements, many of whom would not be fully into their stride with relatively new jobs, but including the majority of people in the productive prime of their careers. Because of the problem of allocating an appropriate socio-economic grouping to the very large female category of housewives, both the socio-economic group (S.E.G.) and age analyses were confined to the male population. This follows the practice, in similar circumstances, of the General Register Office.

Testing the theory

8. As a preliminary test of the migration loss theory, an analysis was made of the changes which had taken place between 1961 and 1966 in the proportion of males aged 15 and over who were (i) in the professional and managerial groups, and (ii) in the 25-44 age-group². The two broadly distinct categories of city and migration area were represented by county boroughs and administrative counties and the proportions in the professional and managerial groups and in the 25-44

1. This was used, *inter alia*, in the Housing Tables (Pt. III) of the 1961 census and comprises the following Socio-Economic Groups:—

No. 1. Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.—large establishments.

No. 2. Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc.—small establishments.

No. 3. Professional workers—self employed.

No. 4. Professional workers—employers.

No. 13. Farmers—employers and managers.

2. This preliminary analysis related to *all* males aged 25-44, not to *economically active* males in that age-group, since information on the latter for 1961 was not readily available. The difference is marginal.

age-group were expressed as indices of the corresponding proportions for England outside Greater London. The changes in these indices and the migration experience of each area between 1961 and 1966¹ are shown in Table 1 (county boroughs) and Table 2 (counties).

9. The county boroughs are arranged in Table 1 in descending order of migration loss; the counties in Table 2 in descending order of migration gain. From this arrangement emerges immediately the basic contrast between the two types of authority; of the 78 county boroughs existing in 1966, all but 17 showed a loss in these five years, while of 45 counties, all but three showed a gain. But the exceptions to the rule in both tables are all attributable to unusual circumstances. The three counties which showed a small migratory loss were: County Durham, with long-established industrial and employment problems; Cumberland, where the mining industry is in decline; and the Parts of Holland, in Lincolnshire, where the mechanisation of a prosperous agriculture is reducing the number of available jobs. By contrast, the great majority of county boroughs lost population by migration—many quite severely—and the 16 which gained² all had exceptional circumstances. Seven are coastal resorts. These attract population by their obvious amenity but the tendency for population increase to spill over the boundary is reduced by the high death rates among the large retired element in the population, since those who die leave hotel or private dwelling accommodation to be occupied by others. Three other "gaining" county boroughs—Worcester, Exeter and Canterbury—may be classed broadly with the coastal resorts; all three are, in their way, inland resorts and Worcester has had something of a dormitory function in relation to Birmingham. Of the remaining six, Bury and Solihull (the latter especially) adjoin much larger cities from which they receive migrants; while Dudley, Walsall, Luton and Northampton were all extended during this period to take in much of their respective suburban fringes. Other county boroughs were also extended between 1961 and 1966, but none of these extensions arrested the outward migration trend of the towns involved.

10. Because of the unrepresentative character of the "gaining" county boroughs, separate aggregates are shown in Table 1 for the 61 which experienced outward migration between 1961 and 1966. No similar distinction is made for counties in Table 2, since only three lost population by migration and these lost so slightly that their exclusion would make a negligible difference to the results.

11. The claim that the towns are losing population is, then, pretty cast-iron. But the key question is—who are the migrants? The evidence of Tables 1 and 2 suggests that it is the prosperous and vigorous elements, as they have been defined here, that the county boroughs have been losing to the counties. Because England as a whole, outside Greater London, has shown a change in the proportion of these two elements (a slight increase in the prosperous; a slight decrease in the vigorous) during the period analysed, the proportions in the

1. Although the Migration Tables of the 1966 census provide data on inward and outward migration over the five years preceding that census, the information is on a sample basis only and does not include movements to areas outside Great Britain. For these reasons, the migration experience of 1961–66 is based here on "residual" migration—i.e. the difference between total population change and natural change (the balance of births and deaths) as recorded by the General Register Office.

2. One county borough—Rochdale—showed no net gain or loss by migration.

county boroughs and counties have been expressed as indices of those for England. In terms of the prosperous, the county boroughs, already at the low index of 79 in 1961, fell further to 78 by 1966. The 61 county boroughs which experienced outward migration showed a similar slight fall, but at a lower index still—from 74 to 73. The counties maintained their position relative to England, and at a very much higher index of 113. The change in the index for each of the two classes of authority is less striking than the absolute level of the index, and it should be remembered that five years is a short period to study. If comparable data were available over a longer period, they would probably show wider differences in the change as well as in the level of the index, for it seems reasonable to suppose that the difference between the absolute proportions of 11 per cent for professional and managerial males in county boroughs (10 per cent in those experiencing outward migration) and 16 per cent for counties is to a great extent the result of a steady long-term loss of these elements from the county boroughs to the counties.

12. In terms of the vigorous, it is, by contrast, the movement in the index, rather than its absolute level, which appears significant. The county boroughs and counties were both "at par" with the index for England in 1961; but the county boroughs fell away to an index of 97 in 1966, while the counties rose to 102. Thus the differences between county boroughs and counties, in terms of *movements* on this index, are more marked—and the implicit loss of the vigorous element from the one to the other probably greater—than those relating to the prosperous groups.

13. The supposition that there is loss of these two elements from the county boroughs to the counties gains support from Migration Tables 5B and 6 of the 1966 census, which show that, in the five years preceding the census, English county boroughs as a whole suffered by migration a net loss of some 55,000 economically active males in the professional and managerial groups, while the administrative counties showed a net migratory gain, in these groups, of 100,000. Information on males aged 25–44 is not readily available, but in the male age group 15–44, the county boroughs in this same period lost some 160,000 by migration, while the counties gained 295,000. Two points need to be made about this assessment. It differs from that embodied in Tables 1 and 2 in being a specifically *migratory* assessment, whereas the other shows the changes resulting from *all* demographic factors, including the natural age-evolution of the population. And the migration losses and gains are between each group of authorities and the rest of Great Britain—which involves Scotland, Wales and Greater London. Both the county boroughs and, more especially, the counties, would have drawn migrants from Greater London in particular; but evidence from Migration Table 3B of the 1966 census suggests that the combined influx of males aged 15–44 into England (outside Greater London) from the rest of Great Britain (including Greater London) was no more than 134,000. Even if the counties received all of this, they were still left with a balance of immigration, in this male age-group, which could only have come from the county boroughs. There is less evidence about the socio-economic grouping of migrants, but it is unlikely that more than 55,000 of the 225,000 migration balance of males aged over 15 into England (outside Greater London) from the rest of Great Britain (including Greater London) consisted of professional and managerial

males¹. Here also, therefore, the strongest inference is that the counties' gains were at the expense of the county boroughs.

14. Further evidence of the effect of outward migration is to be found in the discernible relationship, in Tables 1 and 2, between the proportional migration (col. 1 of each table) and the 1966 reading on the "prosperous" and "vigorous" indices (cols. 3 and 5). Taking the combined distributions of county boroughs and counties from these two tables, there is in fact a positive correlation between migration loss and a low reading on each of the indices. The correlation coefficients are 0.762 for the "prosperous" index and 0.567 for the "vigorous" index, the latter yielding a coefficient of 0.786 for county boroughs alone.

Selection of areas for special study

15. Bearing in mind the possibility of statistical quirks (due to sampling error) and the shortness of the period covered, it nevertheless appeared that there was some evidence to support the thesis that county boroughs were losing more than proportionately the prosperous and vigorous elements in their population. The evidence was not overwhelming but was sufficient to warrant a more detailed scrutiny of migrants from towns, examining not only their composition but also their destination, since it was part of the theory to be tested that the prosperous and vigorous not only leave the county boroughs but that they settle in the surrounding areas. If it was to be of this detailed character, the analysis could not cover all the major towns, but in order to ensure as representative a sample as possible, a number of requirements had to be kept in mind. It was desirable, first, to select a fair cross-section of influential centres, including as many different types as possible and a reasonable geographical distribution. The results of the analysis were likely to be clearer if free-standing towns, away from the main conurbations, were chosen. It was also felt that the sample would be more testing if it contained fewer of the old industrial towns so numerous in the county borough list and more places with greater residential attractions, whether or not they were county boroughs.

16. Such requirements appeared to be well met by the following group of 14 centres (listed in descending order of their 1968 populations):—

	<i>1968 home population</i>
Bristol C.B.	427,800
Coventry C.B.	335,400
Nottingham C.B.	305,000
Leicester C.B.	280,300
Luton C.B.	155,400
Northampton C.B.	123,700
Norwich C.B.	118,900
York C. B.	108,600
Exeter C.B.	93,000
Doncaster C.B.	84,200
Colchester M.B.	72,600
Shrewsbury M.B.	53,800
Taunton M.B.	37,400
Canterbury C.B.	32,800

1. This assumption is based, for lack of more concrete evidence, on the proportion (23.7%) of professional and managerial males in the net outward migration from 14 sample towns (see Table 3). The proportion among migrants into England, outside Greater London) from the rest of Great Britain (including Greater London) is likely to be lower than this.

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This group, as well as including influential centres of a wide variety of sizes, has an aggregate population of over 2.2 million—over a fifth of the total in urban areas of 50,000 or more in England outside the main conurbations¹.

Definition of migration areas

17. The selected towns and the composition of their migration areas are shown at Annex A. These areas were based, in a very generalised way, on the results of F.H.W. Green's and W.I. Carruthers' researches into spheres of influence indicated by local bus services and have been compounded of whole local authority areas. The main intention was to pick up, for each centre, the maximum proportion of its outward migration which went neither abroad nor to a completely different part of the country.

18. It must be emphasised that the outlining of these migration areas was an exercise quite independent of the determination of the local government units now proposed by the Commission. The criteria used, as will be readily seen, were much more limited than those drawn upon in producing the Commission's proposed units. The only aim in each instance was to ensure that the bulk of the migration was picked up.

Results of the analysis

19. Table 3 shows, on the first line against each of the 14 centres, the net balance of movement to the migration area between 1961 and 1966, distinguishing the outward balance of:—

- (i) males aged 15 or over (col. 1);
- (ii) males aged 15 or over in the professional and managerial classes (col. 2).
- (iii) working males² aged 25–44 (col. 3).

These three male groups are shown, in the second line against each centre, in the numbers in which they were present in the 1966 population of the centre. Finally, the third line against each town shows the proportion which the net migration loss (1961–66) represents of the equivalent age, socio-economic or younger working age group in the 1966 population of the centre. Col. (1) thus gives, for each centre, the net migration loss of males over 15 as a proportion of the centre's male population over 15. Cols. (2) and (3) show respectively the net migration loss of professional/managerial males over 15 and working males aged 25–44, each expressed as a proportion of such males in the centre's population. Comparison of the percentages in cols. (2) and (3) with those in col. (1) therefore illustrates the difference between the proportional migration losses in males over 15 generally and in the prosperous and vigorous groups.

20. Taking the 14 centres together, the proportional migration losses of men in the professional and managerial classes and in the 25–44 working age group are each roughly twice as great as the corresponding losses of males aged over 15 in general. The pattern is repeated with remarkable consistency among the individual centres. If the mean of the percentages in cols. (2) and (3) — the

1. Two of the 14 centres fall below this size range, which was used merely as a rough yardstick based on published data.

2. More precisely, economically active males.

Migration between major centres and their surrounding areas

proportional loss to the prosperous and vigorous elements—is expressed as a simple ratio of the proportional loss of males over 15 the result for each centre is as follows:—

<i>Loss Ratio</i> ¹	
Bristol C.B.	1·8
Coventry C.B.	1·9
Nottingham C.B.	1·9
Leicester C.B.	2·0
Luton C.B.	1·9
Northampton C.B.	3·5
Norwich C.B.	1·9
York C.B.	2·1
Exeter C.B.	4·2
Doncaster C.B.	1·9
Colchester M.B.	4·8
Shrewsbury M.B.	9·2
Taunton M.B.	1·6
Canterbury C.B.	1·9
All 14 centres	1·9

21. The prosperous and the vigorous also migrate to cities, of course. But as was shown earlier (para. 13), the county boroughs as a whole still sustained a net loss of the prosperous socio-economic groups to the rest of Great Britain outside Greater London. What was true for the whole was also true for most individual centres and is true for the 14 centres in the sample, except Canterbury and Shrewsbury. These 14 centres' aggregate net loss of the prosperous S.E.G.s to all areas in Great Britain was 8,400—i.e. more than their balance of loss to their migration areas. Information about the "vigorous" element—the working males aged 25–44—is less precise. But we know, from Migration Table 5B of the 1966 census (together with unpublished material for smaller areas, which the General Register Office kindly supplied), that the 14 sample areas suffered a net loss to all areas in Great Britain of 15,900 males aged 15–44. Even allowing for the differences between this age-group and the 25–44s, the inference seems to be that there is little, if any, net influx of younger working-age males from outside the centres' migration areas to make good the centres' losses to those areas. It seems clear, therefore, that the theory of loss of the prosperous and vigorous from cities to their migration areas is in fact correct.

Commuting

22. The 1966 census² provides information about the type of people travelling out of their area of residence to work, which sheds interesting light on the question whether people who move from a town to its migration area retain links with the town and continue to look to it for work, education, shopping and entertainment. Table 4 shows, for each of the 14 selected centres, the number

1. Mean percentage loss of professional/managerial males and working males aged 25–44 expressed as a ratio of the percentage loss of all males over 15. If the loss of the prosperous and vigorous elements were not disproportionate, the ratio would be 1·0.

2. Workplace and Transport Tables, Part I, Table 6.

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of employed persons resident in the centre and the number resident in other areas who travel to work in the centre¹. Also shown are the proportions of professional and managerial people in each category — the resident working population and the incoming commuters.

23. A very consistent pattern emerges from Table 4. In every instance but one², the proportion of professional and managerial people among the incoming commuters is higher than among the centre's resident population. Taking the centres collectively the proportions are in round terms, 9½ per cent for the resident population of the centres and 16 per cent for the commuters. These figures bear a marked similarity to the 1966 proportions for the enumerated population of county boroughs and counties. In other words, the commuters are socio-economically representative of the county areas from which they travel to work, and those who both live and work in the 14 centres are similarly representative of county boroughs. One cannot say specifically that these commuters, with their comparatively high proportion of the professional and managerial elements, are former residents of the centres. But the evidence on the commuters, taken together with the socio-economic comparisons in Table 3, tends very strongly towards the conclusion that most people of working age who migrate from a city to its migration area continue to work in the city after moving. The proportion of professional and managerial males aged over 15 in the balance of migration out of the 14 selected centres is roughly twice the proportion in the population of the centres. Among the commuters, the professional and managerial element is about one-and-two-thirds the proportion it represents in the centres. Given the known high rate of migration from the centres to the surrounding areas, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the emigrants from the centres are joining populations with a similar high proportion of professional and managerial people — of which migrants from the centre form an important element — and that, having moved out, most of them still look to the centre as their workplace.

Summary and implications

24. This study appears fully to vindicate the contention of the Local Government Commission for England about the social imbalance gradually becoming ingrained in the county borough/county system of 1888. The disparity between the proportions of "prosperous" in counties and county boroughs, which has every appearance of being the result of a long-established trend, is shown through progressively more specific migration analyses to stem from movements of such people — and of the 25-44 working age group — from major centres to their migration areas. These movements, moreover, are proportionately something like twice as large as those of the population generally between these same areas.

1. The data used in Table 4 relate to employed persons of both sexes, unlike those in Tables 1-3, which are in respect of economically active and retired males. Table 4 is also based on census data of the *resident* population, whereas Tables 1-3 relate to *enumerated* population. None of these differences affects the general conclusions.

2. The exception is Doncaster C.B., where the surrounding areas include, in addition to the usual "dormitories", several mining villages which are also thought to make a contribution to the commuter flow into Doncaster.

Migration between major centres and their surrounding areas

25. The significance of these findings is twofold. First, there is the long-term weakening effect on the socio-economic character of the major centres. This is what justifiably exercised the L.G.C.E. The second is the linkage which this out-migration establishes between the centre and its migration area. Among the population of the county areas which surround major urban centres are clearly many people who originated in the centre itself. These two factors constitute another important strand in the general argument that town and country are interdependent.

Table 1: Migration and changes, relative to England outside Greater London, in the proportions of males in the professional and managerial groups and in the 25-44 age-group, 1961-66 (County Boroughs)

County Borough	Net migration as percentage of 1961 population (1) (migration loss shown as minus)	Proportion of professional and managerial males to total males aged 15+		Proportion of males aged 25-44 to total males aged 15+		County Borough	Net migration as percentage of 1961 population (1) (migration loss shown as minus)	Proportion of professional and managerial males to total males aged 15+		Proportion of males aged 25-44 to total males aged 15+			
		Expressed as index: England outside Greater London=100						Expressed as index: England outside Greater London=100					
		1961	1966	1961	1966			1961	1966	1961	1966	1961	1966
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Salford	-8.57	55	54	100	95	West Hartlepool	-2.34	73	67	108	106		
Liverpool	-8.47	69	61	101	99	Halifax	-2.20	97	91	95	97		
Manchester	-8.30	69	68	102	97	Stoke-on-Trent	-2.07	52	51	103	100		
Newcastle upon Tyne	-7.69	80	80	98	104	Plymouth	-2.06	54	58	95	92		
Preston	-7.36	54	50	100	100	Barnsley	-1.95	59	49	101	100		
Bootle	-6.33	39	44	113	108	Wigan	-1.79	63	69	96	96		
St. Helens	-6.05	44	39	100	94	Darlington	-1.78	78	76	99	99		
Middlesbrough	-6.01	63	69	112	106	York	-1.53	73	79	95	90		
Portsmouth	-5.51	70	66	89	84	Rotherham	-1.53	67	61	103	103		
Kingston upon Hull	-5.21	66	62	104	100	Dewsbury	-1.52	77	73	101	93		
Gateshead	-5.05	60	61	100	93	Oxford	-1.40	87	80	83	87		
Oldham	-4.98	66	60	96	97	Southampton	-1.37	84	89	100	99		
Derby	-4.87	59	52	96	93	Great Yarmouth	-1.33	95	87	93	90		
Grimsby	-4.81	89	91	104	104	Huddersfield	-1.30	105	94	100	99		
Sunderland	-4.76	65	65	107	108	Chester	-1.02	107	108	100	96		

Burton upon Trent	-4.75	68	61	103	101	Gloucester	-0.87	79	59	106	102
Birmingham	-4.69	68	67	102	99	Coventry	-0.54	76	79	109	105
Warrington	-4.51	43	38	97	92	Tynemouth	-0.29	97	110	106	104
Leicester	-4.37	85	79	95	96	Ipswich	-0.26	77	82	101	99
Nottingham	-4.25	71	70	104	97	Reading	-0.25	101	94	97	99
Bristol	-4.12	80	89	95	93	Bath	-0.25	107	109	95	90
Blackburn	-4.08	73	76	94	92	Rochdale	nil	81	88	96	105
South Shields	-3.84	73	77	104	100	Northampton	0.17	82	89	95	96
Bolton	-3.37	77	81	95	92	Brighton	0.18	113	102	86	79
Stockport	-3.24	89	95	98	111	Southport	0.37	172	162	81	87
Sheffield	-3.12	85	85	96	93	Walsall	0.52	73	71	105	107
Doncaster	-3.03	77	81	108	99	Southend-on-Sea	0.91	148	141	87	85
Leeds	-2.88	87	89	111	97	Worcester	1.20	99	88	102	99
Wallasey	-2.81	105	108	97	96	Luton	1.79	77	86	107	112
Burnley	-2.75	67	65	94	92	Bury	2.66	91	94	99	102
West Bromwich	-2.75	55	56	112	105	Bournemouth	2.80	136	131	76	72
Wolverhampton	-2.74	82	86	107	106	Canterbury	2.93	91	101	95	76
Birkenhead	-2.69	86	81	101	97	Blackpool	3.27	101	102	81	87
Norwich	-2.68	78	71	95	88	Hastings	3.30	121	114	76	72
Barrow-in-Furness	-2.63	60	63	95	89	Exeter	3.56	98	99	92	90
Warley	-2.60	56	55	99	98	Dudley	4.77	74	80	111	113
Lincoln	-2.49	79	69	101	92	Solihull	6.33	212	219	115	115
Wakefield	-2.48	78	95	101	97	Eastbourne	11.53	155	162	73	68
Bradford	-2.44	80	74	105	104	All C.B.s	-3.19	79	78	100	97
Carlisle	-2.40	83	87	104	100	C.B.s with migration loss	-4.10	74	73	101	98

1. Population on boundaries as at mid-1966.

Sources: General Register Office.

Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

Appendix 3

Table 2:—Migration and changes, relative to England outside Greater London, in the proportions of males in the professional and managerial groups and in the 25-44 age-group, 1961-66 (Administrative Counties)

Administrative County	Net migration as percentage of 1961 population (1) (migration loss shown as minus)	Proportion of professional and managerial males to total males aged 15+		Proportion of males aged 25-44 to total males aged 15+	
		Expressed as index: England outside Greater London = 100			
		1961	1966	1961	1966
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Oxfordshire	11.09	107	106	104	108
Hampshire	11.02	107	114	100	104
West Suffolk	10.93	95	93	97	103
Berkshire	10.84	132	140	109	114
Essex	9.80	113	121	109	110
East Sussex	9.67	171	171	80	83
Staffordshire	8.94	102	104	110	114
West Sussex	8.53	154	154	90	87
Huntingdon and Peterborough	8.43	94	91	107	112
Cheshire	7.50	151	146	102	106
Yorkshire, East Riding	7.12	154	149	93	90
Kent	7.07	112	114	95	97
Rutland	7.05	83	79	103	109
Warwickshire	6.87	125	131	108	108
Gloucestershire	6.69	113	112	102	107
Devon	5.94	151	131	84	82
Buckinghamshire	5.90	127	135	108	110
East Suffolk	5.80	113	104	93	93
Wiltshire	5.79	84	89	99	104
Bedfordshire	5.49	92	104	112	117
Leicestershire	5.13	110	114	105	108
Norfolk	5.04	109	102	95	97
Lincolnshire (Kesteven)	4.84	99	91	100	99
Lancashire	4.84	96	96	100	101
Isle of Wight	4.83	124	126	83	79
Worcestershire	4.75	123	123	102	103
Northamptonshire	4.62	93	91	100	99
Nottinghamshire	4.60	91	93	104	106
Somerset	4.56	125	120	93	94
Hertfordshire	4.54	137	144	111	111
Shropshire	4.12	107	99	95	100
Dorset	4.12	127	120	90	90
Yorkshire, North Riding	4.05	111	102	99	100
Herefordshire	4.03	123	115	96	95
Lincolnshire (Lindsey)	3.82	103	89	101	105
Surrey	3.60	179	184	98	99
Cornwall	3.25	126	120	88	90
Yorkshire, West Riding	2.64	87	87	99	113
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely	2.46	115	111	94	94
Derbyshire	1.85	81	81	103	100
Northumberland	1.62	94	89	103	99
Westmorland	1.36	160	131	91	93
Durham	-0.12	60	62	105	104
Lincolnshire (Holland)	-0.49	114	101	100	97
Cumberland	-1.13	106	91	102	97
All counties	5.35	113	113	100	102

1. Population on boundaries as at mid-1966.

Sources: General Register Office.
Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

Table 3: Characteristics of net migration movements from the 14 centres to their surrounding migration areas (1961-66)

Centre	Total males aged 15+	Males aged 15+ in professional and managerial classes	Working males aged 25-44	Centre	Total males aged 15+	Males aged 15+ in professional and managerial classes	Working males aged 25-44
BRISTOL C.B.	(1)	(2)	(3)	YORK C.B.	(1)	(2)	(3)
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	7,100	1,510	4,070	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	1,450	330	940
1966 population of centre	161,180	19,910	49,880	1966 population of centre	37,030	4,110	11,220
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	4.41%	7.58%	8.16%*	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	3.92%	8.03%	8.38%
COVENTRY C.B.				EXETER C.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	3,790	1,020	1,810	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	120	140	10
1966 population of centre	121,850	13,380	43,530	1966 population of centre	32,800	4,540	9,650
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	3.11%	7.62%	4.16%	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	0.37%	3.08%	0.10%
NOTTINGHAM C.B.				DONCASTER C.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	6,050	1,100	3,770	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	730	190	370
1966 population of centre	111,210	10,900	36,340	1966 population of centre	31,230	3,520	10,400
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	5.44%	10.09%	10.37%*	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	2.34%	5.40%	3.56%
LEICESTER C.B.				COLCHESTER M.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	6,620	1,610	3,700	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	170	180	120
1966 population of centre	103,850	11,380	33,440	1966 population of centre	24,310	3,490	7,770
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	6.37%	14.15%*	11.06%*	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	0.70%	5.16%	1.54%
LUTON C.B.				SHREWSBURY M.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	1,480	430	740	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	30	50	70
1966 population of centre	56,160	6,730	21,450	1966 population of centre	18,490	2,780	6,120
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	2.64%	6.39%	3.45%	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	0.16%	1.80%	1.14%
NORTHAMPTON C.B.				TAUNTON M.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	110	80	40	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	350	90	130
1966 population of centre	45,430	5,670	14,810	1966 population of centre	12,410	1,620	4,060
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	0.24%	1.41%	0.27%	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	2.82%	5.56%	3.20%
NORWICH C.B.				CANTERBURY C.B.			
Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	1,710	310	990	Net emigration to hinterland, 1961-66	250	70	120
1966 population of centre	42,960	4,300	12,660	1966 population of centre	11,330	1,600	2,940
Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	3.98%	7.21%	7.82%	Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	2.21%	4.38%	4.08%
				AGGREGATE OF 14 CENTRES			
				Net emigration to hinterlands, 1961-66	29,960	7,100	16,880
				1966 population of centres	810,240	93,930	264,270
				Emigration as percentage of 1966 population	3.70%	7.57%*	6.39%*

Source: General Register Office.

* The data used in this table, being drawn from a 10% sample, are liable to margins of error. Only in the instances marked with an asterisk is there a 95% probability that the true value of the percentage in Col. (2) or (3) exceeds that of Col. (1). But the pattern is so consistent between the 14 centres that this warning is largely formal.

Appendix 3

Table 4: Proportions of professional and managerial people among commuters to major centres and among workers living in the centres (1966)

Centre	Persons resident in centre and working in or outside it			Persons resident outside centre but travelling into it to work		
	Total number	Professional and managerial	Professional and managerial as percentage of total	Total number	Professional and managerial	Professional and managerial as percentage of total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Bristol C.B.	201,580	21,400	10.6	44,810	9,130	20.4
Coventry	162,110	14,430	8.9	40,630	5,790	14.3
Nottingham C.B.	149,660	11,950	8.0	56,620	9,880	17.4
Leicester C.B.	143,530	11,880	8.3	49,560	9,420	19.0
Luton C.B.	74,330	7,140	9.6	20,630	3,060	14.8
Northampton C.B.	60,460	6,110	10.1	11,860	1,870	15.8
Norwich C.B.	54,210	4,410	8.1	30,360	4,250	14.0
York C.B.	49,560	4,380	8.8	17,500	2,020	11.5
Exeter C.B.	40,340	4,640	11.5	9,100	1,530	16.8
Doncaster C.B.	36,500	3,710	10.2	23,940	1,940	8.1
Colchester M.B.	29,760	3,390	11.4	10,500	1,430	13.6
Shrewsbury M.B.	23,640	2,880	12.2	7,370	1,080	14.7
Taunton M.B.	16,980	1,850	10.9	7,970	1,020	12.8
Canterbury C.B.	14,340	1,730	12.1	8,830	1,220	13.8
Aggregate of 14 Centres	1,057,000	99,900	9.5	339,680	53,640	15.8

Source: 1966 census

ANNEX A

Composition of areas used for migration analysis

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. BRISTOL C.B.
 Gloucestershire (whole administrative county)
 Gloucester C.B.</p> <p>Somerset:—
 Bath C.B.
 Burnham on Sea U.D.
 Clevedon U.D.
 Frome U.D.
 Keynsham U.D.
 Norton Radstock U.D.
 Portishead U.D.
 Shepton Mallet U.D.
 Wells M.B.
 Weston super Mare M.B.
 Axbridge R.D.
 Bathavon R.D.
 Clutton R.D.
 Frome R.D.
 Long Ashton R.D.
 Shepton Mallet R.D.
 Wells R.D.</p> <p>Wiltshire:—
 Bradford on Avon U.D.
 Calne M.B.
 Chippenham M.B.
 Devizes M.B.
 Malmesbury M.B.
 Marlborough M.B.
 Melksham U.D.
 Swindon M.B.
 Trowbridge U.D.
 Warminster U.D.
 Westbury U.D.
 Bradford and Melksham R.D.
 Calne and Chippenham R.D.
 Cricklade and Wootton Bassett R.D.
 Devizes R.D.
 Highworth R.D.
 Malmesbury R.D.
 Marlborough and Ramsbury R.D.
 Mere and Tisbury R.D.
 Pewsey R.D.
 Warminster and Westbury R.D.</p> <p>Worcestershire:—
 Evesham R.D.
 Upton on Severn R.D.</p> | <p>2. COVENTRY C.B.
 Leicestershire:—
 Hinckley U.D.
 Blaby R.D.
 Lutterworth R.D.
 Market Bosworth R.D.</p> <p>Northamptonshire:—
 Daventry M.B.
 Brackley R.D.
 Daventry R.D.</p> <p>Warwickshire:—
 Bedworth U.D.
 Kenilworth U.D.
 Nuneaton M.B.
 Royal Leamington Spa M.B.
 Rugby M.B.
 Warwick M.B.
 Atherstone R.D.
 Meriden R.D.
 Rugby R.D.
 Southam R.D.
 Warwick R.D.</p> <p>3. NOTTINGHAM C.B.
 Nottinghamshire (whole administrative county)</p> <p>Derbyshire:—
 Alfreton U.D.
 Bolsover U.D.
 Clay Cross U.D.
 Heanor U.D.
 Ilkeston M.B.
 Long Eaton U.D.
 Ripley U.D.
 Blackwell R.D.
 Chesterfield R.D.
 South East Derbyshire R.D.</p> <p>Lincolnshire (Kesteven):—
 Grantham M.B.
 North Kesteven R.D.
 West Kesteven R.D.</p> <p>Leicestershire:—
 Castle Donington R.D.
 Melton and Belvoir R.D.</p> <p>4. LEICESTER C.B.
 Leicestershire (whole administrative county)</p> |
|--|--|

4. LEICESTER C.B. (continued).

Derbyshire:—

Swadlincote U.D.

Repton R.D.

Lincolnshire (Kesteven):—

Stamford M.B.

Rutland

Warwickshire:—

Bedworth U.D.

Nuneaton M.B.

Atherstone R.D.

Rugby R.D.

5. LUTON C.B.

Bedfordshire:—

Amphill U.D.

Biggleswade U.D.

Dunstable M.B.

Leighton-Linslade U.D.

Sandy U.D.

Amphill R.D.

Bedford R.D.

Biggleswade R.D.

Luton R.D.

Buckinghamshire:—

Wing R.D.

Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely:—

South Cambridgeshire R.D.

Essex:—

Saffron Walden M.B.

Saffron Walden R.D.

Hertfordshire:—

Baldock U.D.

Berkhamsted U.D.

Bishop's Stortford U.D.

Harpenden U.D.

Hemel Hempstead M.B.

Hertford M.B.

Hitchin U.D.

Hoddesdon U.D.

Letchworth U.D.

Royston U.D.

St. Albans M.B.

Sawbridgeworth U.D.

Stevenage U.D.

Tring U.D.

Ware U.D.

Welwyn Garden City U.D.

Berkhamsted R.D.

Braughing R.D.

Hatfield R.D.

Hemel Hempstead R.D.

Hertford R.D.

Hitchin R.D.

St. Albans R.D.

Ware R.D.

Welwyn R.D.

6. NORTHAMPTON C.B.

Northamptonshire (whole administrative county)

Bedfordshire:—

Bedford M.B.

Kempston U.D.

Amphill R.D.

Bedford R.D.

Buckinghamshire:—

Bletchley U.D.

Buckingham M.B.

Newport Pagnell U.D.

Wolverton U.D.

Buckingham R.D.

Newport Pagnell R.D.

Winslow R.D.

Huntingdon and Peterborough:—

Huntingdon R.D.

St. Neots R.D.

Leicestershire:—

Market Harborough U.D.

Market Harborough R.D.

7. NORWICH C.B.

Norfolk (whole administrative county)

Great Yarmouth C.B.

East Suffolk:—

Aldeburgh M.B.

Beccles M.B.

Bungay U.D.

Eye M.B.

Halesworth U.D.

Leiston-cum-Sizewell U.D.

Lowestoft M.B.

Saxmundham U.D.

Southwold M.B.

Hartismere R.D.

Lothlingland R.D.

Wainford R.D.

7. NORWICH C.B. (continued)

West Suffolk:—

Mildenhall R.D.
Thingoe R.D.
Thedwastre R.D.

8. YORK C.B.

Yorkshire, East Riding:—

Brindlington M.B.
Driffield U.D.
Filey U.D.
Norton U.D.
Bridlington R.D.
Derwent R.D.
Driffield R.D.
Howden R.D.
Norton R.D.
Pocklington R.D.

Yorkshire, North Riding:—

Malton U.D.
Pickering U.D.
Scalby U.D.
Scarborough M.B.
Easingwold R.D.
Flaxton R.D.
Helmsley R.D.
Kirkbymoorside R.D.
Malton R.D.
Pickering R.D.
Scarborough R.D.
Thirsk R.D.

Yorkshire, West Riding:—

Harrogate M.B.
Knaresborough U.D.
Selby U.D.
Nidderdale R.D.
Selby R.D.
Tadcaster R.D.
Wetherby R.D.

9. EXETER C.B.

Devon (Administrative county
less Plympton St. Mary's)

Dorset:—

Bridport M.B.
Lyme Regis M.B.
Beaminster R.D.
Bridport R.D.

Somerset:—

Chard M.B.
Crewkerne U.D.

Ilminster U.D.
Wellington U.D.
Chard R.D.
Dulverton R.D.
Taunton R.D.
Wellington R.D.
Williton R.D.

10. DONCASTER C.B.

Lincolnshire (Lindsey):—

Isle of Axholme R.D.

Nottinghamshire:—

East Retford M.B.
Worksop M.B.
East Retford R.D.
Worksop R.D.

Yorkshire, West Riding:—

Adwick-le-Street U.D.
Bentley-with-Arksey U.D.
Conisbrough U.D.
Dearne U.D.
Goole M.B.
Maltby U.D.
Mexborough U.D.
Swinton U.D.
Tickhill U.D.
Wath upon Dearne U.D.
Doncaster R.D.
Goole R.D.
Hemsworth R.D.
Kiveton Park R.D.
Osgoldcross R.D.
Rotherham R.D.
Thorne R.D.

11. COLCHESTER M.B.

Essex:—

Braintree and Bocking U.D.
Brightlingsea U.D.
Clacton U.D.
Frinton and Walton U.D.
Halstead U.D.
Harwich M.B.
Maldon M.B.
West Mersea U.D.
Witham U.D.
Wivenhoe U.D.
Braintree R.D.
Chelmsford R.D.
Dunmow R.D.
Halstead R.D.

11. COLCHESTER M.B. (cntd.)

Essex (continued):—

Lexden and Winstree R.D.

Maldon R.D.

Tendring R.D.

West Suffolk:—

Sudbury M.B.

Melford R.D.

12. SHREWSBURY M.B.

Shropshire (whole administrative county)

Worcestershire:—

Tenbury R.D.

13. TAUNTON M.B.

Dorset:—

Sherborne U.D.

Sherborne R.D.

Somerset:—

Bridgwater M.B.

Burnham on Sea U.D.

Chard M.B.

Crewkerne U.D.

Glastonbury M.B.

Ilminster U.D.

Minehead U.D.

Shepton Mallet U.D.

Street U.D.

Watchet U.D.

Wellington U.D.

Wells M.B.

Weston super Mare M.B.

Yeovil M.B.

Axbridge R.D.

Bridgwater R.D.

Chard R.D.

Clutton R.D.

Dulverton R.D.

Frome R.D.

Langport R.D.

Shepton Mallet R.D.

Taunton R.D.

Wellington R.D.

Wells R.D.

Williton R.D.

Wincanton R.D.

Yeovil R.D.

14. CANTERBURY C.B.

Kent:—

Ashford U.D.

Broadstairs and St. Peter's U.D.

Deal M.B.

Dover M.B.

Faversham M.B.

Folkestone M.B.

Herne Bay U.D.

Hythe M.B.

Lydd M.B.

Margate M.B.

New Romney M.B.

Queenborough M.B.

Ramsgate M.B.

Sandwich M.B.

Sheerness U.D.

Sittingbourne and Milton U.D.

Tenterden M.B.

Whitstable U.D.

Bridge Blean R.D.

Cranbrook R.D.

Dover R.D.

East Ashford R.D.

Eastry R.D.

Elham R.D.

Hollingbourn R.D.

Romney Marsh R.D.

Sheppey R.D.

Swale R.D.

Tenterden R.D.

West Ashford R.D.

APPENDIX 4

A PROFILE OF THE CONURBATIONS

I INTRODUCTION

1. The Census of 1951 recognised for the first time, in official statistics, the existence of certain extensive and densely populated urban areas called "conurbations". It was hoped that these would represent more meaningful collecting units for a range of social and economic statistics than the traditional parish, urban and rural district, county borough and county. Since their original definition in 1951, a whole range of data has been presented for the conurbations, primarily in the Censuses of 1961 and 1966, but also for certain aspects of the Censuses of Production and Distribution.

2. The origin of their definition for statistical purposes may be traced to a recommendation of the United Nations Population Commission (5th Session, 1950) that summary census tabulations should be made for "agglomerations or clusters of population living in built-up contiguous areas which, according to the definition adopted in each country, are considered as single localities or population centres".

3. In England the six official conurbations became the continuously urbanised areas centred on London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford/Leeds and Newcastle. Containing as they do a combined population of approximately 17 million people, and being so much larger than the other urban concentrations in England, these areas have seemed to belong to a different order of settlement in the national hierarchy of towns.

4. Apart from the definition of the conurbations for purposes of official statistics, the distinctive character of these areas has been recognised administratively in a number of ways, of which two may be cited. The Local Government Act, 1958, treated the five provincial conurbations as special review areas, in which the Local Government Commission for England could make recommendations for the whole or any part of the area and not only, as elsewhere in England, for such parts as affected the boundaries, status or functions of counties or county boroughs. More recently, passenger transport authorities have been established for all the provincial conurbations except West Yorkshire. The Ministry of Transport has announced that these authorities, with powers to plan the transport provision for a conurbation as a whole, "will cover the whole of the continuously built-up area" and in addition "will take in places from which there is a substantial travel to work, or which have important organisational transport links with the conurbations¹."

5. Much of the evidence received by the Royal Commission has made no distinction between the conurbations and the rest of the country—hence the need to make a thorough examination of all existing data on these areas. The

1. Ministry of Transport: Memorandum to Local Authorities—*Passenger Transport Authorities*, July 1968, para. 5.

Appendix 4

characteristics examined are those which seem to be directly related to the tasks of local government.

6. The distinctiveness of the conurbations has taken three forms. The first is the unity and cohesion produced by the forces of social and economic linkage which are the very *raison d'être* of the conurbation concept. The second is their tremendous absolute and proportional concentration of certain phenomena in what are relatively small areas of the country. The third is their economic importance to the nation as great workshops of industry and centres of commerce and administration.

The definition and structure of the conurbations

7. The principles of definition of the conurbations are contained in the introductory remarks to a special volume of the 1951 Census entitled *Greater London and Five Other Conurbations* (H.M.S.O. 1956). Briefly these are as follows: first, in order to facilitate the collection of official statistics, they had to be aggregates of whole authority areas above the level of the parish. Second, the boundaries should delimit as nearly as possible the continuously built-up area surrounding each centre. Third, a local authority should be considered for inclusion in a conurbation "to whose focal centre it was strongly attached as a centre for work, shopping, higher education, sports or entertainment¹." Finally, some consideration should be given to population density.

8. This definition of a conurbation as relating closely to the built-up area (although not always quite so closely as the above implies) largely followed the important work carried out by the geographer C. B. Fawcett on the censuses of 1921 and 1931². The definition has not always gone without criticism. Patrick Geddes, who in 1915 had first suggested the broad location of the conurbations and also invented the term, had a less narrow idea of what a "conurbation" area should be³. The Barlow Report of 1940 also considered Fawcett's definition to be too narrowly drawn⁴. Ever since the official definition of the conurbations, controversy has centred on whether or not they have been a realistic category of urban settlement.

9. The 1951 Census volume notes that "because no two conurbations are quite alike either in originating influences, geography or local government structure" each must be studied for itself in the field⁵. Before looking at the differences between the conurbations it is as well to be clear about the general similarities. Each conurbation (except that in West Yorkshire) has a very well defined centre which is of at least provincial importance for various functions. Around each central business area is a ring of relatively high density, usually obsolescent and overcrowded housing often closely associated with older industries. Beyond

1. General Register Office: Census 1951, England and Wales, *Greater London and Five other Conurbations*, Chapter I, page XV. H.M.S.O. 1956.

2. See for example

(i) C. B. Fawcett, *British Conurbations in 1921*, Sociological Review, April 1922.

(ii) C. B. Fawcett, *Distribution of the Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931*, Geographical Journal, Feb. 1932.

3. Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 1915.

4. Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population. Cmd. 6152. H.M.S.O. 1940.

5. General Register Office, *op. cit.* page xiv.

this are the more spacious suburbs of the pre- and post-World War II eras. Also located on the suburban fringes are the newer industries, less tied to a central location or an immobile work-force, but anxious to exploit the potential of a large urban market for their products. This development has been largely based on the one, dominating centre, but the fact that each conurbation grew from a number of once physically distinct centres must not be forgotten. The key to this model structure of a conurbation has been the changing technology of transport and industry.

10. Despite their basic similarity, there are also some differences between the conurbations. The West Midlands conurbation, for example, contains two different areas: the "Black Country" to the north-west (founded on coal and iron production) and Birmingham to the south-east (a centre of distribution, commerce and craftsmanship). The conurbation as a whole has had a relatively buoyant economy and has shown continuous (if lately modest) population growth.

11. Merseyside and Tyneside are coastal and riverside concentrations based on shipbuilding and the bulk handling of goods. They cover a smaller area than the West Midlands conurbation and have a more compact structure. South-East Lancashire and the West Riding flank the Pennines. Topographical limits to further urban growth are more severe in these latter two conurbations and in each the urban development is spread over a large area with important secondary centres. These two are also the major, traditional textile centres of England.

II THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONURBATIONS

12. By world standards Great Britain is an extremely crowded island with roughly 590 people for every square mile of its land surface. But what is even more striking is the extremely uneven distribution of that population—particularly the concentration in the five conurbations.

Table 1 below illustrates this by assembling some of the salient facts relating to the population and area of the provincial conurbations in England. The Greater London conurbation is excluded because it is outside the terms of reference of the Royal Commission. But even if London is not included the remaining five conurbations contain about 8.7 million people on less than 900,000 acres of the land area. In proportional terms 23% of the people in the Royal Commission's area live on 4% of the land surface.

Table 1: The conurbations in 1966

<i>Conurbation</i>	<i>Population (000's)</i>	<i>Area (acres)</i>	<i>Persons per acre</i>	<i>Proportion of total population</i>	<i>Proportion of total area</i>
Tyneside	832.2	57,710	14.4	% 2.2	% 0.3
West Yorkshire	1,708.3	310,110	5.5	4.5	1.4
S.E. Lancashire	2,404.1	242,920	9.9	6.4	1.1
Merseyside	1,337.5	96,030	13.9	3.6	0.4
West Midlands	2,374.1	172,010	13.8	6.3	0.8
Total	8,656.2	878,780	9.9	23.0	4.0
England less London	37,702.9	21,818,510	1.7	100.0	100.0

Source: 1966 Census

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13. Here, on this extremely small proportion of the land surface, are also located about 24% of all private households in England outside London. At the time of the 1966 Census 4.2 million out of 16.8 million (or nearly 25%) people in employment in England outside London found their jobs in the five conurbations. The West Midlands and South-East Lancashire each had some 1.2 million people in employment; West Yorkshire had 829,000; Merseyside 592,000 and Tyneside 368,000. Taken together these five areas employed 33% of all manufacturing workers in the Royal Commission's area and 24% of all the workers in the service industries such as transport, distribution and commerce¹.

14. For certain industries, the conurbations are even more important in terms of the proportion of workers of a whole industry finding their jobs in a conurbation. To illustrate this point a location quotient may be used to measure the extent to which the conurbations are dominated by one industry by comparison with that industry's position in the employment structure of the country as a whole. For example the 1966 Census analysis of the "metal goods (not elsewhere specified)" category of industry shows that 5.3% of all conurbation workers fell into this group. For the country as a whole this industry accounted for 2.6% of all workers. The location quotient is thus 2.0. The conurbations are roughly twice as important to this industry (as measured in manpower terms) as the rest of the country. Other important categories are textiles (L.Q. = 1.8), general (i.e. other) manufacturing industry (L.Q. = 1.4), engineering and electrical goods (L.Q. = 1.3), clothing and footwear (L.Q. = 1.3) and ship-building (L.Q. = 1.4).

15. Other indicators of the importance of these five areas in terms of the productive potential of the country can be taken from the Census of Production. Over 20% of the total sales of both goods and services and of net output of the country measured in monetary terms emanate from these five relatively small areas.

III POPULATION CHANGES IN THE CONURBATIONS

16. Although the official conurbations account for a sizeable proportion of the total population and productive capacity of England, the proportion of the country's population living in them has been declining. In 1951 the five provincial conurbations contained 21% of the population of all England; by 1961 it was down to 20%. By 1966 it had dropped further to 19.5%, yet between 1961 and 1966 the population of the country had grown by 4.3%. This aggregate proportional decline, however, disguises fairly wide variations between individual conurbations. The West Midlands, which had the fastest growth of population of all the conurbations, showed a rate of increase rather more than half that of the country as a whole over the same period. West Yorkshire and South-East Lancashire also showed small net increases. Only Tyneside and Merseyside had net overall losses of population of 5,000 and 7,000 people respectively. These changes are set out in Table 2.

1. Manufacturing workers are here taken to mean classes III to XVI and service workers classes XVII to XXIV of the Standard Industrial Classification.

Table 2: The conurbations—Population change

Area	Mid 1961 Civilian population (000's)	Population Change 1961 to 1966						Mid 1966 Civilian population (000's)
		Total		Natural change		Migration ¹		
		No. (000's)	%	No. (000's)	%	No. (000's)	%	
England	43,265.6	1,864.0	4.3	1,435.2	3.3	381.6	0.9	45,129.6
Tyneside	852.5	—	4.8 —0.6	25.1	2.9 —	30.8 —3.6		847.7
West Yorkshire	1,699.2	28.5	1.7	43.5	2.6 —	16.8 —1.6		1,727.7
S.E. Lancashire	2,418.5	34.8	1.4	70.1	2.9 —	37.9 —1.6		2,453.3
Merseyside	1,379.9	—	7.0 —0.5	60.3	4.5 —	68.8 —5.0		1,372.9
West Midlands	2,370.2	66.3	2.8	105.6	4.4 —	41.9 —1.8		2,436.5
Greater London	7,966.0	—	69.8 —0.9	261.7	3.3 —	340.1 —4.3		7,896.2

Source: Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

17. Thus the two smallest and most densely populated conurbations both recorded absolute declines in total population in the five years under consideration. The remaining three all had relative increases but these were very much below that of the country as a whole. The changes on Tyneside and Merseyside were almost entirely due to high rates of outward migration amounting to over 6,000 a year for the former and over 12,000 a year for the latter. It is interesting to note from Table 2 that Merseyside has a birth rate considerably higher than that of the country as a whole and comparable with that of the much more prosperous West Midlands. The natural increase rate is higher on Merseyside. The remaining three conurbations are all below the national average for these 5 years.

18. It is interesting to compare these changes with those taking place in other categories of urban area. Between 1951 and 1966 towns outside the conurbations with over 100,000 people remained virtually unchanged in aggregate population; those with 50,000 to 100,000 grew by 26% and those with less than 50,000 grew by 20%.

IV CONURBATION CHARACTERISTICS

19. **Housing.** This is an important aspect which indicates the general character of the conurbations. In 1965 the Ministry of Housing and Local Government asked all local authorities to complete a return of the unfit housing in their areas. The definition of unfitness was broadly left to the authorities concerned and the results are not easy to interpret. However they give some indication of the scale of the problem. In England outside Greater London, some 734,700 dwellings were described as statutorily unfit and this is undoubtedly an understatement of the problem². Of these unfit houses over half (51.7%), or

1. This is, strictly, a residual figure. It excludes the transfer of 47,200 people from the armed forces to the civilian population (the missing element required to make the three components of change aggregate correctly) but contains any elements of revision or other incompatibility between the 1961 and 1966 mid-year population estimates.

2. The 1967 housing sample survey by the Ministry puts the total for England and Wales at 1.8 million.

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a total of 380,000, were located within the provincial conurbations. The percentage of 51·7 compares with the 23·4% of all dwellings which were located in these conurbations. South-East Lancashire and Merseyside alone had 17·4% and 13·9% respectively of the national total (outside Greater London). West Yorkshire came third with 9·3%, the West Midlands fourth with 8·8%, and on Tyneside the figure was 2·8%.

20. More accurate, though perhaps less comprehensive, measures of housing quality (in the sense of an "all embracing" concept of unfitness), can be obtained from the sample census of 1966. One effective way of comparing the five conurbations with the rest of the country and with each other is to relate the respective proportions of the total private households to the proportion of households living in shared dwellings. This is done in Table 3.

Table 3: The conurbations—Proportions of households and households sharing, 1966

<i>Area</i>	<i>Total private households</i>	<i>Total households sharing</i>
	(1)	(2)
(a) England less Greater London	12,149,600	443,720
(b) Conurbations as percentages of (a)		
Tyneside	2·3	1·4
West Yorkshire	4·9	2·5
S.E. Lancashire	6·8	5·7
Merseyside	3·4	6·5
West Midlands	6·2	8·9
Total, 5 conurbations	23·6	25·0
Rest of (a)	76·4	75·0

Source: Census 1966, Great Britain Summary Tables, Table 9

21. In the whole of England, less Greater London, there are just over 12 million private households. In the five conurbations there are over 2·8 million or 23·6% of all households. But the proportion of the sharing households in the conurbations (Col. 2 in Table 3) is rather greater, at 25%. In absolute terms this is 111,000 out of 444,000. The conurbations as a whole are thus marginally worse off for shared housing than the rest of the country. If the five conurbations are considered separately, however, the table is even more instructive. Merseyside has very nearly twice its proportional share of households sharing a dwelling (6·5% as against 3·4%) and the West Midlands conurbation just over one third more than its share (8·9% sharing against 6·2% of all households in the Commission's area.) The remaining three conurbations have less than their proportional share.

22. But the sharing of dwellings by households, though bad in itself, is not a very sensitive indicator of overcrowding. A better one is the density of occupation of rooms within dwellings. Using the same method as above, the position is set out in Table 4. The percentages in Col. 1 are once again compared with those in Col. 2. Occupancy rates of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room are now regarded as constituting severe overcrowding and clearly the conurbations are in a relatively bad position, with 44,250 households at over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room out of the national total of 117,400 households at this density. They have, in fact, nearly 38% of crowded households as against 24% of all households. The rest of the Commission's area has 62.3% of overcrowded households against 76.4% of all households.

Table 4: Private households by accommodation density

<i>Area</i>	<i>Total private households</i>	<i>Total accommodated at over $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room</i>
	(1)	(2)
(a) England less Greater London	12,149,600	117,380
(b) Conurbations as percentages of (a)		
Tyneside	2.3	4.4
West Yorkshire	4.9	6.5
S.E. Lancashire	6.8	7.2
Merseyside	3.4	6.6
West Midlands	6.2	13.0
Total, 5 conurbations	23.6	37.7
Rest of (a)	76.4	62.3

23. The individual conurbations which emerge from this table as having the worst problem are the West Midlands and Merseyside, each with twice their proportionate share of crowded dwellings.

24. In Table 5, a similar analysis is made of dwellings lacking certain standard amenities, and again the conurbations as a group emerge as being rather worse off than the rest of England outside Greater London. The basic figure for comparison is once more the 23.6% of the households of the country that they contain. Against this they have 25.4% of all the households lacking their own hot water supply, 28% of those lacking their own bath and 28.6% of those without their own inside lavatory.

Table 5: Households lacking certain amenities

Area	Total households	Households lacking own hot water	Households lacking own bath	Households lacking own inside W.C.
(a) England less Greater London	12,149,600	1,563,810	2,041,340	2,179,750
(b) Conurbation proportions of (a)	%	%	%	%
Tyneside	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.8
West Yorkshire	4.9	4.4	5.5	5.2
S.E. Lancashire	6.8	6.4	8.5	9.2
Merseyside	3.4	4.4	4.5	4.3
West Midlands	6.2	7.7	6.8	7.1
Total, 5 conurbations	23.6	25.5	28.0	28.6
Rest of (a)	76.4	74.5	72.0	71.4

Source: Census, 1966: Great Britain Summary Tables, Table 12.

25. A comparison between the conurbations reveals a slightly different picture from that in Tables 3 and 4. South-East Lancashire and Merseyside emerge as the worst off of the conurbations in terms of their disproportionate share of households lacking a bath and inside lavatory. Of the 2.7 million households lacking an inside W.C. nearly 21 %, or 560,000, are found in Merseyside, South-East Lancashire and the West Midlands. 400,000 or 20% of all the households which lack a bath are to be found in the same three conurbations.

26. *Social characteristics.* Turning to the general health position in the conurbations, as an indirect reflection of poor environment, birth rates, perinatal deaths, overall death rates and deaths from tuberculosis have been examined. In the early years of this century there existed an undoubted relationship between size of urban area and the general health of the inhabitants¹. The penalties of life spent in the very largest industrial towns were high. Since then there has been a vast improvement in the health of the urban population but it is still worth while to examine the data for any differences between the conurbations and the smaller towns and cities. As a starting point, Table 6

1. See for example D. V. Glass in *Public Health and Urban Growth Centre for Urban Studies, Report No. 4, 1964.*

below shows that, in general, birth rates are rather higher in the five provincial conurbations. Only Tyneside is below the national average, while the smaller urban areas are very close to it.

Table 6: Conurbations and other urban areas—birth rates, 1966

<i>Area</i>	<i>Live Births</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Crude rate per thousand home population</i>
England and Wales	849,168	17.7
Tyneside	14,168	16.7
West Yorkshire	30,837	17.8
South-East Lancashire	44,814	18.3
Merseyside	25,637	18.7
West Midlands	45,835	18.9
Urban areas over 100,000 population	106,226	17.5
Urban areas, 50,000 to 100,000 population	82,088	17.5
Urban areas under 50,000 population	182,319	17.5

Source: Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales, Medical Tables 1966, Table 13.

27. All the conurbations, with the exception of Tyneside, show birth rates above the national average and higher than all categories of free-standing towns presented in the table for the year 1966. This fact will be important for the planning and operation of a range of local authority services. In addition the conurbations exhibited a markedly higher rate of perinatal deaths (namely those deaths taking place within one week of birth plus the number of still births). The data are presented in Table 7 and it is interesting to compare Tables 6 and 7. South-East Lancashire and Merseyside have both high birth rates and a high rate of perinatal deaths. In contrast, however, the West Midlands has a high birth rate but a perinatal death rate nearer to the national average. At first glance also it might appear that in the matter of perinatal deaths there seems to be a rough "urban gradient" in operation with the highest rates occurring in the conurbations and the lowest in the small urban areas. This, however, applies only to England and Wales, excluding Greater London. Greater London showed a rate of 25 per 1000 live and still births in 1966, a figure below the national average.

Table 7: Conurbations and other areas—perinatal deaths, 1966

Area	Perinatal deaths	
	Number	Rate per thousand total live and still births
England and Wales	22,689	26
Tyneside	409	28
West Yorkshire	925	30
South-East Lancashire	1,394	31
Merseyside	814	31
West Midlands	1,318	28
Outside conurbations:—		
Urban areas over 100,000	2,957	27
Urban areas 50–100,000	2,209	26
Urban areas under 50,000	4,734	26

Source: As for Table 6.

28. In the matter of overall crude death rates also, the conurbations are generally worse off than the country as a whole, though not than the free-standing towns, as Table 8 shows. There are, however, marked differences *between* the conurbations. The West Midlands is clearly better off than any of the conurbations, being both below the national average rate and the rate for a range of other towns. Merseyside and West Yorkshire are markedly above the national average with rates of 13·4 and 13·5 per 1000, population respectively.

29. This paper is mainly concerned with collecting together certain descriptive variables concerning the conurbations and their environment and does not attempt to seek out underlying causes of the phenomena. However in his report for 1965, the Registrar General noted that one of the causes of death that has always shown a pronounced connection with the degree of urbanisation and in which the conurbations are particularly prominent, is tuberculosis. The figures in Table 9 on page 67 speak for themselves.

30. *General environment.* The descriptive variables so far examined concerning the conurbations' environment have related to specialised topics in the population and health and welfare fields. It has proved possible to devise an overall indicator of the nature of the environment in these areas by comparing the general quality (as measured in money terms) of the residential environment in the conurbations with that in the country as a whole. This is done by means

Table 8: Conurbations and other urban areas—death rates, 1966

<i>Area</i>	<i>Deaths</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Crude rate per thousand home population</i>
England and Wales	563,624	11·7
Tyneside	10,018	11·8
West Yorkshire	23,339	13·5
South-East Lancashire	31,339	12·8
Merseyside	38,967	13·4
West Midlands	25,591	10·5
Urban areas over 100,000 population	74,454	12·2
Urban areas 50–100,000 population	54,860	11·7
Urban areas under 50,000 population	128,786	12·4

Source: As for Table 6.

Table 9: Conurbations and other urban areas—deaths from tuberculosis

<i>Area</i>	<i>Mortality Index (England and Wales =100)</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Conurbations		
Tyneside	143	189
West Yorkshire	118	100
South-East Lancashire	134	94
Merseyside	166	138
West Midlands	144	135
Outside conurbations:—		
Urban areas over 100,000	126	124
Urban areas 50–100,000	99	96
Urban areas under 50,000	92	82

Source: As for Table 6.

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of an index of *domestic rateable value* (D.R.V.)—a statistic which has a substantial positive correlation with social class (see annex 1 of appendix 10).

31. Table 10 shows the aggregate domestic rateable value per head for the conurbations against that for the country as a whole.

Table 10: The conurbations—domestic rateable values per head, 1967–8

<i>Area</i>	<i>D.R.V. per head (£)</i>
England less Greater London	20.5
Tyneside	17.9
West Yorkshire	15.3
South-East Lancashire	18.6
Merseyside	18.8
West Midlands	19.1

Source: Ministry of Housing and Local Government: Rates and Rateable Values, 1967–8

The conurbations thus lie to varying degrees below the D.R.V. level of the country as a whole. The West Midlands is only marginally so but West Yorkshire, with only £15.3 D.R.V. per head, is worst off.

32. Table 11 examines the position in more detail by comparing the two types of urban authorities (i.e. county boroughs; and municipal boroughs or urban districts) according to whether they are inside or outside the conurbations. The average D.R.V. per head for all county boroughs in England is £19.1. The 28 county boroughs *inside* conurbations have an aggregate D.R.V. per head of only £17.2 while the 50 free-standing ones are above both the overall national average of £20.5 per head and the average for all county boroughs. Municipal boroughs and urban districts are similarly placed, those outside the conurbations being above the average for M.B.s and U.D.s and those in the conurbations below it.

Table 11: Conurbation and non-conurbation authorities—D.R.V. per head, 1967–8

	<i>Number</i>	<i>D.R.V. per head (£)</i>
All county boroughs	78	19.1
All M.B.s and U.D.s	691	22.3
County boroughs:		
(a) Outside conurbations	50	20.8
(b) Inside conurbations	28	17.2
M.B.s and U.D.s		
(a) Outside conurbations	599	22.7
(b) Inside conurbations	92	20.1

Source: Ministry of Housing and Local Government: Rates and Rateable Values, 1967–8.

33. *Social capital.* Another characteristic which indicates the general quality of the environment and consequently the tasks facing local government, is the age of social capital. This relates to both age of housing (although the available data are rather sketchy) and age of school buildings. The conurbations were among the very first areas of the country to be industrialised and they might therefore be expected to contain a rather higher proportion of older buildings of all kinds. The information examined on housing has come from a variety of sources—in particular the Housing Survey of 1964 and published data for certain county boroughs. Because of the rather disparate nature of the sources, comprehensive comparisons between conurbations are difficult.

34. The Housing Survey in England and Wales, made in 1964, estimated on a sample basis that 40% of all accommodation in rateable units was built before 1919, 27% between 1919 and 1944, 22% between 1945 and 1960 and 8% since that date. These data thus establish a norm against which to judge other information. It has been calculated¹ that 40.2% of dwellings in the whole of the Tyneside conurbation were built before 1919 and 30.3% between 1919 and 1945. In the central county boroughs of Newcastle and Gateshead the proportions built in the earliest period are rather higher, at 44% and 46% respectively. In the other conurbations the data relate to different survey dates. In 1961 for example it was estimated that in each of the four "central" county boroughs of Merseyside—Bootle, Liverpool, Birkenhead and Wallasey—over 50% of the dwellings were built before 1914. In the West Midlands, Birmingham C.B. was estimated to have 45% of such dwellings in 1966.

35. The conclusions from such disparate data must be very tentative, but it does appear, as might be expected, that the conurbations, and especially the core areas, are generally in a worse position than the rest of the country. Turning to another class of social capital, it is possible to get data, now some years old, from which we can make firmer comparisons. In 1962 the Ministry of Education carried out a school building survey and among the topics covered was the age of buildings. The survey, published in 1965, classified schools into age groups by reference to the oldest building still in use for teaching purposes. In the published survey a regional breakdown only is given but it has been possible to analyse the findings for the individual county borough education authorities in conurbations against those located outside the conurbations.

36. A comparison of the proportions of schools in the various age groups according to whether they are located in county boroughs *inside* the conurbations or in county boroughs *outside* them is set out in Table 12 (see p. 70).

37. Out of 4,681 primary schools in the 76 English county boroughs at the date of the survey, 2,200, or nearly half, were in the 27 county boroughs then situated in the official conurbations. Of the 2,753 county borough secondary schools less than a third (794) were within the official conurbations. Table 12 shows that of the primary schools in county boroughs inside the conurbations, 49% were built in the 19th century and 32% between 1903 and 1944. County boroughs outside conurbations had rather smaller proportions—44% and 29% respectively. The difference is greater in the case of secondary schools, in which

1. In "Social and Economic Statistics of the North-East" (Rowntree Research Unit)—1966.

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the conurbation C.B.s have nearly 30% of 19th century schools as opposed to the non-conurbation areas, which have 22%.

Table 12: Age of schools in and outside the conurbations, 1962

Built	Primary schools		Secondary schools	
	C.B.s inside conurbations	C.B.s outside conurbations	C.B.s inside conurbations	C.B.s outside conurbations
	%	%	%	%
Pre 1902	48.9	44.1	29.6	21.7
1903-1918	13.7	11.9	14.7	13.2
1919-1944	18.2	17.5	26.2	31.8
1945-1962	20.0	26.5	29.5	33.3

Source: School Building Survey 1962. (Unpublished data for county boroughs obtained from Department of Education and Science.)

38. The situation among the individual conurbations is shown in Tables 13 and 14. Table 13 shows, for example, that West Yorkshire and South-East Lancashire are in the worst position of the five conurbations, with 58% and 54% respectively of their county boroughs' primary schools built in the 19th century, as compared with 46% in all county boroughs. Tyneside, on the other hand, lies well below the county borough average while the West Midlands and Merseyside, with 42% and 43% respectively, are fairly close to it.

Table 13: Age of primary schools, 1962

Group of county boroughs	Numbers and proportions of schools built at following dates:								
	Pre-1902		1903-1918		1919-1944		1945-1962		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
All county boroughs	2,152	46.0	596	12.7	836	17.9	1,097	23.4	4,681
Tyneside C.B.s	79	37.6	38	18.1	49	23.3	44	21.0	210
West Yorkshire C.B.s	265	57.7	50	10.9	51	11.1	93	20.3	459
South-East Lancashire C.B.s	320	53.7	95	15.9	88	14.8	93	15.6	596
Merseyside C.B.s	187	42.8	70	16.1	100	22.9	79	18.2	436
West Midlands C.B.s	207	41.5	49	9.8	113	22.6	130	26.1	499

Source: Ministry of Education School Building Survey 1962, H.M.S.O. 1965

39. In Table 14 West Yorkshire again comes out with a high proportion (43%) of pre-1902 secondary schools against a county borough average of 24%, but South-East Lancashire this time is only a little above the average, with 27%. The West Midlands, which had a below-average proportion of older primary schools, has 28% of very old secondary schools. It should not be assumed that similar proportions of children are educated in these schools, for the newer schools tend, on the average to be much larger than the older.

Table 14: Age of secondary schools, 1962

Group of county boroughs	Numbers and proportions of schools built at following dates:								
	Pre-1902		1903-1918		1919-1944		1945-1962		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
All county boroughs	661	24.0	375	13.6	830	30.2	887	32.2	2,753
Tyneside C.B.s	36	36.4	14	14.1	28	28.3	21	21.2	99
West Yorkshire C.B.s	111	42.7	10	7.0	30	20.9	42	29.4	143
South-East Lan- cashire C.B.s	47	27.4	28	16.4	34	19.9	62	36.3	171
Merseyside C.B.s.	29	18.0	21	13.0	59	36.7	52	32.3	161
West Midlands C.B.s.	62	28.2	44	20.0	57	25.9	57	25.9	220

Source: Ministry of Education School Building Survey 1962, H.M.S.O. 1965.

40. *Traffic and transportation.* The importance of the conurbations in population and economic terms and the high population density of these areas mean that they are both generators and attractors of traffic in all its forms and the traffic inevitably becomes congested. Unfortunately it has not proved feasible to measure congestion directly in any comparative way. Hence an indirect approach has been made by way of journey-to-work and car ownership.

41. The importance of the conurbations as centres for travel to work can be measured in terms of a job ratio. This index compares the number of people in work in a particular area against the number of occupied persons resident in that area. It is calculated by adding the net inflow of workers to an area to the number of workers in residence there. The result is then expressed as a percentage of that area's occupied resident population. It thereby measures the attraction of an area for work purposes. Table 15 below shows both that the conurbation areas are net "attractors" for work purposes and that this attraction grew markedly in the fifteen years 1951 to 1966. Table 16 indicates the scale and nature of these changes for the period 1951 to 1966. The minor boundary changes in the period have been ignored.

Table 15: The conurbation job ratios—1951, 1961 and 1966

Area	1951	1961	1966
Tyneside	102.4	104.8	109.1
West Yorkshire	102.2	103.0	103.8
South-East Lancashire	101.5	102.4	102.9
Merseyside	98.9	100.3	103.0
West Midlands	102.4	104.5	105.2
All provincial conurbations	101.6	103.0	103.8

Source: Census 1951, 1961 and 1966: Workplace Tables.

Table 16: Journey-to-work in the conurbations, 1951-66

Conurbation	Resident occupied population (thousands)			Numbers travelling to work (thousands)					
				Into the conurbations			Out of the conurbations		
	1951	1966	% change	1951	1966	% change	1951	1966	% change
Tyneside	371.4	382.4	3.0	28.2	55.9	98.2	19.4	23.6	21.6
West Yorkshire	834.3	845.9	1.4	33.4	49.5	48.2	15.5	19.3	24.5
South-East Lancashire	1,237.4	1,203.6	- 2.7	41.3	69.8	69.0	22.3	36.8	65.0
West Midlands	1,111.0	1,224.3	10.2	45.9	90.4	96.9	19.4	30.4	56.7
Merseyside	627.2	618.5	- 1.4	26.8	63.7	137.7	33.5	46.7	39.4
All 5 conurbations	4,181.3	4,274.7	2.2	175.6	329.3	87.5	110.1	156.8	42.4

Source: Census 1951—Report on Usual Residence and Workplace, Ch.2. Census 1966—Workplace and Transport Table 1.

42. Thus by 1966 over 150,000 more people were travelling daily into the five conurbations as compared with the 1951 figures. 47,000 more people were travelling in the opposite direction daily to their places of work. The differences between the conurbations are also instructive. Merseyside has more than doubled its number of people travelling into the conurbation at a time when its occupied population has been virtually static. In proportionate terms Merseyside with 138% more workers travelling in and Tyneside and the West Midlands with 98% and 97% show the greatest increases. The West Midlands conurbation has relatively high proportionate increases in people travelling out.

43. South-East Lancashire is distinguished by similar proportionate increases of people travelling in and out. West Yorkshire may be regarded as somewhat of a special case, composed as it is of physically distinct work centres, but even here there were practically half as many more travelling into the conurbation in 1966 as compared with 1951.

44. All this, together with the even greater commuting movements inside the conurbations, builds up into sizeable problems for the transport systems in these areas and the scale of congestion here is undoubtedly the greatest in the country outside London. Although we have only indirect evidence from which to draw conclusions, people do seem to have a greater propensity for travel in a conurbation area. For example, the Community Attitudes Survey (research study 9) undertaken on behalf of the Royal Commission showed that only 35% of respondents living in conurbations had attended a cinema *inside* their own local authority area, as against 51% in free-standing towns: only 18% had visited the theatre and 19% a sports meeting inside their home local authority area in a conurbation as against 24% and 25% respectively for free-standing towns. The National Travel Survey undertaken by the Ministry of Transport in 1964 also showed that public transport facilities were more frequently used in conurbation areas than in other urban and non-urban areas.

45. But despite this rather greater use of public transport in the conurbations (overwhelmingly by bus rather than by rail) as compared with other towns, there are important signs that the municipal bus services are rapidly losing ground in competition with the private car. Table 17 shows the percentage of private households owning cars in the conurbations in 1966. None of them yet has a proportion equal to the national average, though there are signs that they are gaining ground fast. The West Midlands, a great car manufacturing centre, has virtually reached the same position as the country as a whole; higher, incidentally, than the Greater London conurbation. The Merseyside Traffic Survey (1962) estimated that car ownership in Liverpool C.B. was growing at nearly 20% per annum between 1952 and 1962 and at 15% per annum in Birkenhead C.B. By 1982 it is estimated that there will be three times as much traffic on Merseyside as in 1962 if no restriction is placed on expansion. The West Midlands Transport Study estimates that the number of cars in that conurbation will rise from 388,000 in 1964 to 820,000 in 1981.

Table 17: Car ownership

	<i>Percentage of private households with one or more cars</i>
England	45.6
Tyneside	30.6
West Yorkshire	35.2
South-East Lancashire	36.4
Merseyside	33.8
West Midlands	45.1
5 provincial conurbations	37.5
Greater London	41.9

46. A clear indication that the conurbations do have special communications problems as compared with the rest of the country is given by the setting up of passenger transport authorities for South-East Lancashire, Merseyside, the West Midlands and Tyneside. The Ministry of Transport considers that here the transport problems are 'already critical and their continuously built-up areas call for unified planning of transport under a single transport authority'. The principal problems are considered to be the multiplicity of operators, large and small, and the absence of any single transport authority, which inhibits the planning of public transport in the area. Municipal transport undertakings on Merseyside, for example, have lost traffic steadily over recent years. Birkenhead Corporation carried 12.5% fewer passengers in 1962 than in 1952, Wallasey Corporation 25% fewer and Liverpool Corporation 3% fewer. In the West Midlands the decline has been equally pronounced. Between 1955 and 1964 the fleet strength of municipal and non-municipal public transport undertakings declined by 5%²; the number of passengers carried decreased by 21% and the vehicle miles travelled by buses declined by 7%.

1. White Paper—Public Transport and Traffic—Cmd. 3481. H.M.S.O. 1967.

2. This may or may not imply a reduction in fleet carrying capacity; buses were getting larger during this period.

Appendix 4

47. An unhappy reminder of the effects of bad traffic congestion and conditions generally can be gathered from Table 18 below. These figures for road accidents as a cause of death in the conurbations are taken from the Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales for 1965. Although there is no clear relationship between size of urban area and the standardised mortality ratio it does appear that the conurbations have a generally worse record than other urban areas. One year only is presented here (although the general relationship holds for earlier years) and valid comment can hardly be made on the differences between the conurbations.

Table 18: Conurbations and other urban areas—road accidents as a cause of death

<i>Area</i>	<i>Total number</i>	<i>Standard mortality ratio (England and Wales=100)</i>	
		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
England and Wales	7,515	100	100
Tyneside	125	101	84
West Yorkshire	366	130	154
South-East Lancashire	395	98	120
Merseyside	237	104	105
West Midlands	404	122	121
Urban areas (outside conurbations) over 100,000 population	967	100	104
Urban areas between 50,000 and 100,000 population	731	100	101
Urban areas under 50,000 population	1,514	97	83

Source: Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales, 1965.

V. CONCLUSION

48. This appendix provides a profile of the five official conurbations in terms of those socio-economic characteristics that have implications for local government, in order to see to what extent they differ from the rest of the country and from one another. It also attempts to set out the economic significance of the conurbations today. It has used the official, restricted notion of a conurbation although there is no doubt that these areas exert an influence over a broader field than their built-up limits; the tables showing population change (Table 2) and the journey-to-work data (Tables 15 and 16) testify to this.

49. In many respects the conurbations as a whole differ from the rest of the country both in terms of the quality of the physical environment and of planning, housing and transportation problems. In housing, all the conurbations have more than their proportionate share of unfit houses, of sharing households, of

overcrowded households and of households lacking standard amenities. In so far as it is possible to get an accurate picture of the age of social capital, that of the conurbations is older than in the rest of the country. The general quality of the residential environment, as measured by the domestic rateable value index, is also lower in the conurbations than in the rest of the country. For schools, the picture is the same: both primary and secondary schools are older in all the conurbations than in the rest of the Commission's area. For traffic and transport, there is circumstantial evidence that the problems are greater in the conurbations and the level of road accidents is certainly higher. So, too, are the general¹ and perinatal death rates.

50. Although clearly different from the rest of the country, the conurbations differ substantially in some respects from each other. Bearing in mind the limitations of the available data, the West Riding emerges as being less like the other official conurbations and more like the rest of the country. The average population density is only 5.5 persons per acre, against over 10 per acre for the remainder. For almost all the housing indices it is better off than the majority of the other conurbations and for T.B. deaths the position is substantially similar. In terms of its employment and population growth, it is also more like the rest of the Commission's area than most of the other conurbations.

51. Although it shows a high rate of outward migration, there are signs that Tyneside may resemble West Yorkshire in being slightly different from the other conurbations. It has a high proportion of overcrowded households, but seems markedly better off than South-East Lancashire and Merseyside in terms of household amenities. The overall death rates and rate of perinatal deaths are in line with national averages and below the rates for all the other conurbations except the West Midlands.

52. Taken together, the conurbations provide a large slice of the country's industrial base. More than one in four of all workers outside Greater London are found within the relatively small proportion of the country's area they cover. For some industries, namely various branches of the electrical, engineering, metal working and textile trades, their predominance is even greater.

1. With the exception of the West Midlands conurbation.

APPENDIX 5

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Introduction

1. The present appendix is concerned with demographic factors affecting the growth of local government services. It falls into three sections:

- I. Changes, past and future, in the population of England and its age composition.
- II. The effects of migration within England.
- III. Changes in the volume of movement-to-work.

Section I gives an account of the changes which have occurred and may be expected to occur in England and in the Commission's proposed provinces, with special reference to the age-groups served by some of the major local government services. Section II deals with the mobility of the population—one of the factors chiefly responsible for the increasing interdependence of town and country—and the corresponding obsolescence of existing boundaries. Section III traces the striking increases in the incidence of travel to work.

I. CHANGES, PAST AND FUTURE, IN THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND ITS AGE COMPOSITION

The population of England

2. Very great changes have occurred in the population of England since the inception of the present local government system in 1888. Table 1 (p. 91) traces first the increases which have taken place between 1891 (the nearest census to 1888) and 1967. In the whole of that 76-year period, the population increased by some 68%, from 27·2 million to 45·7 million. Appendix 2 and Map 11 deal with the geographical distribution of changes in the decades 1891–1901 and 1956–66 at each end of this period.

3. More striking, however, than the overall increase is the remarkably different way in which it has affected the four age-groups identified in Table 1. Children of under five—the age-group which uses the local infant health and welfare services and, implicitly, the maternity service—have increased by 18·5% only, a proportional increase little more than a quarter that of the population as a whole. Children aged 5 to 15—the present statutory period for full-time schooling—have increased by less than 7 %, barely a tenth of the overall proportional increase. The population of working age (males 15–65, females 15–60) has increased by a slightly higher proportion (75%) than the whole population. Finally, and much the most remarkable, the population of over retiring age, for whose needs the local health, welfare and housing services cater extensively, has more than quadrupled, showing a proportional increase almost five times that of the population in general.

Appendix 5

4. The underlying causes of these disparate changes are well known and need no more than brief recapitulation here. Birth rates, after attaining in the 1870s the levels of around 35 per thousand population currently being experienced in China or Cuba, fell steadily until reaching their lowest point in the 1930s. The two birth peaks following the second world war in 1947 and 1964, striking though they were numerically, were smaller even in absolute terms than that of 1920, following the first world war. As birth rates, of course, they were much lower than that of 1920 and little more than half the level of the 1870s. Thus children under 15 have shown very modest rates of increase by comparison with the rest of the population. At the other end of the age-scale, the "retired" section of the population, benefiting from the tremendous strides in medical and welfare services, has expanded meteorically from 1.7 to 7.1 million. In between, the working-age population has risen from 16 to 28 million. It suffered losses in both world wars—those of the first being especially heavy—but people old enough to have fought in the Great War are now all past retiring age. The working population has been reinforced by the immigration from overseas which reached its peak in the late 1950s and by the arrival at working age of the exceptional numbers of children born in 1947.

5. What of the future? Over the much shorter period (to the year 2001) for which forecasts are practicable¹, a pronounced shift from the trend of the last 76 years appears likely. Some of the effects over this period are examined in Appendix 6 dealing with the likely growth of local government services. The population as a whole is expected to increase by over 10% in the 14 years from 1967 to 1981 and by over 30% in the 34 years to 2001. The proportional increase in the 30 years following 1891 was very similar; but that represented 8 million people, whereas the increase expected by the end of the present century is some 14 million.

6. In terms of changes in the size of the four selected age-groups the trend is very different from that of 1891–1967. The two child age-groups show, both up to 1891 and on to the end of the century, much higher rates of increase than the population in general; and the "retired" group, though continuing until 1981 to grow at a greater rate than the whole population, is expected to increase by less than half the rate of the population in general over the period from 1967 to 2001. The working-age population, after increasing by about half the rate of the whole population up to 1981, comes close to the general rate of increase if viewed over the entire period to the end of the century.

7. Again, the reasons are not far to seek. The current (1967) expectation is that annual births (in England and Wales) will increase from the 1967 level of some 830,000 to 1,220,000 at the end of the century—not a very great increase in the crude birth rate per thousand population, but one which, related to the

1. Population forecasting is necessarily imprecise. While death rates have settled on to a fairly stable trend and affect chiefly a section of the population whose demographic characteristics are quite well known, birth rates are subject to sharp fluctuations and are applied, in the case of projections to the end of the century, to some mothers who are themselves as yet unborn. The projections also incorporate assumptions about future migration, a quantity very difficult to predict. Granted all these problems, however, the projections used here, which were prepared by the General Register Office, using material supplied by the Government Actuary's Department and in consultation with other Government departments, are the best available. They are used, where required, as a guide to Government policy.

larger population at the end of the century, results in some 47% more births per annum than occurred in 1967. There is a cumulative element here: unless a trend towards smaller families sets in, more children produce more children, and this is a microcosm, in fairly moderate form, of the world-wide population "explosion".

8. Death rates, by contrast, have been tapering off very gradually after the dramatic reduction they showed between the 1890s and the first world war. Current projections assume further sizeable reductions in death rates at ages under 40 for males and under 50 for females; but in the older age groups, where the deaths are most numerous, the assumed reduction in death rates becomes progressively smaller with higher ages. Thus, the number of old people will tend to show an increasingly stable relationship with the births of 70–80 years earlier. Going back this length of time respectively from 1967 and 2001 gives the period from about 1890 to 1925, when births were experiencing the decline already mentioned. So the numbers of old people, assuming no further notable advances in survival rates, may be expected to decline before the end of the century.

9. The population of working age seems likely to remain almost static until the 1970s, when the intake at the lower end begins in earnest to exceed the loss at the upper—again a phenomenon largely related to numbers of births that occurred 15 and 60–65 years in the past, but also to the greater cumulative effect of mortality on those born 60 years previously and to the persistence, in the working population of the 1970s, of the young adult immigrants (and their children) who arrived in such numbers in the late fifties and early sixties.

10. All these changes are given an added perspective in Table 2 (p. 92,) which shows the proportions which the four selected age-groups have constituted, and will constitute, of the population as a whole. Children, both of school age and pre-school age, amounted to a much smaller part of the population in 1967 than they did in 1891; but the renewed upsurge in their numbers already apparent is expected to continue over the years for which projections are practicable. Retired people have, by contrast, risen from 6 to over 15 % of the population, but for them the future, after about 1981, appears to hold a diminution in the proportion they represent of the total population so that, by the end of the century, they amount to some 13½ % of the total.

11. The working-age population, on whose shoulders the older and younger age-groups are figuratively carried, formed some 59% of the total in 1891, a proportion which rose gradually to about 67% in 1931 and has fallen again to 61% at the present time. This proportion seems destined to fall further until about 1991 (58%), when an upturn appears likely to set in. But there is no reason to suppose that the slow fluctuations in the proportion of the population represented by this age-group (very much the largest group of the four identified in the present analyses) will have any traceable effect on its ability to "carry" the rest. Indeed, the rapid advances in technology show every probability of continuing to reduce the working week and increase the leisure of this section of the population.

12. Summarising the prospects for England as a whole, the local government services, which in their entirety serve every age-group of the population, seem

Appendix 5

likely by the end of the century to have to cater for over 30% more people—14 million more in numerical terms—than they do at present. This is a formidable enough prospect and some of its implications are traced elsewhere in appendix 6, dealing with alternative projections of expenditure on local authority services. As that appendix shows, the probability has to be considered of improved as well as of expanded services.

13. Of the most obviously age-orientated services, those affecting children will, simply on demographic grounds, need to expand the most. The infant health and welfare services will have over 40% more under-fives to look after and, in close association with this, the maternity services, either hospital or midwife, will face annual births some 47% more numerous than in 1967. The education authorities will be catering for over half as many more 5–15 year-olds than they now do; and this takes no account of the agreed raising of the school leaving age to 16 (and any subsequent raising which may occur) or of the tremendous increases already apparent, and likely to continue, in further education.

14. Only in services affecting the elderly does the expected increase in the population pose, of itself, less formidable problems. The retired are expected to be more numerous in 2001 by about 940,000 than they were in 1967; but this is an increase of 13% only and it seems likely that the elderly will have begun to decline in numbers, as well as relative to the whole population, by the final decade of the century. This, of course, is to look at the matter in purely demographic terms. It remains possible that the gap still to be bridged between general standards in the care of old people and the best which have been shown to be possible provides as great a challenge, even with the more modest increase in numbers, as that which faces the education, health, welfare and children authorities.

Variations in the provinces

15. The Commission ideally would have wished to be able to provide as much information about the future population of the proposed unitary and metropolitan areas (and its implications for services) as has been given above for the country as a whole. Unfortunately, the information at present available on future population growth in local areas does not permit of forecasts in this degree of detail. The population projections to 1981 (with allowance for future migration) published by the General Register Office in May, 1968¹ go down as far as the level of standard regions, and the Commission has had access—which it gratefully acknowledges—to a further breakdown of this information into broad sub-divisions of standard regions. But it is in a few exceptional instances only that these regional sub-divisions correspond with the Commission's proposed units. With the help—also gratefully acknowledged—of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in providing population forecasts for 1981 for existing local authority areas, it has been possible to derive estimates of 1981 population (without age or sex breakdown) for the Commission's units. For the purposes of the present appendix, however, comment is in general restricted to changes in the age-composition of the population in the Commission's provinces, though 1981 age-projections are given in para. 22 for two standard

1. *The Registrar General's Quarterly Return for England and Wales* No. 476, 4th Quarter, 1967.

regional sub-divisions which closely resemble two of the Commission's proposed unitary areas.

16. Table 3 (p. 93) shows, for each of the eight provinces, the numbers in the pre-school, school-age, working and retired population groups at 1967 and 1981, the proportions these groups represent of the provincial totals at those two dates, and the percentage increase expected in the total population and in each of the four age-groups.

17. Over this period the population of England is expected to increase by about 10½%. The traditionally "losing" areas of the North show smaller increases, especially the North East; but the South East, much more associated in the past with heavy gains, is now expected to gain at a rather lower rate than England as a whole. Above-average increases are predicted for the industrially prosperous East and West Midlands and for the South West, where the attractions of the province as a retirement area and the industrial development of its north-eastern parts, including Severnside, seem likely to outweigh the low natural increase rates and the limited industrial prospects of Devon and Cornwall. East Anglia, however, is the province in which population increases are proportionally most outstanding. Here, a gain of 430,000 people, numerically comparable with what is expected in the Yorkshire province, represents a proportional increase of 22%—more than twice the proportional gain in the Yorkshire province. This is partly due to the very much lower existing population density in East Anglia—325 persons per square mile, compared with 848 in the Yorkshire province—which means that East Anglia, with a very modest population for its size, has a greater capacity to absorb more. And indeed, the striking proportional increase is bound up with the proposed major expansions at Peterborough and Ipswich and lesser ones at King's Lynn, Thetford, Bury St. Edmunds, Haverhill and a sizeable list of other small towns.

18. In the pre-school age group, which in England as a whole is expected to increase by some 14% between 1967 and 1981, most of the provinces may look for changes fairly similar to the national. The North East, with a projected increase of only 10½%, is a little on its own; but much more so, at the other extreme, is East Anglia, which may expect a gain of nearly 40% in under-fives. Prospects for the numbers of school-age children (by the present definition) are generally parallel: the national expectation is of an increase of 25% by 1981 and all provinces conform closely except the North East (16%) and East Anglia (44%).

19. People of retiring age, in this period before the subsequent predicted fall-off in their numbers, are expected to increase by 15% in England as a whole. The West Midlands, where the proportion of such people was, in 1967, the lowest in any province, may expect the greatest proportional increase (27%) by 1981. The North East, having the next lowest proportion of elderly people, also gains decidedly more (22%) than the country in general. The South West—the province traditionally most associated with the elderly—seems likely to gain rather fewer of them (11%) than England as a whole. East Anglia (7%) shows the smallest gain of all in this age group.

20. The working-age population, meanwhile, is expected to increase little in England as a whole—a little over 5%—and this means that it is likely

to form a smaller part of the total population in 1981 than it did in 1967. The latter statement is true of all the provinces—even East Anglia, where the working-age population increases by $18\frac{1}{2}\%$ in these 14 years—and, as Table 3 shows, the proportions of working-age people in the eight provinces in 1981 are grouped remarkably tightly about the national average.

21. In brief, then, the new authorities in East Anglia will face a need for large expansion of their services, especially those affecting children, but in most other spheres as well, in view of the big overall increase in population. The exception might be services for the elderly, whose numbers are likely to be little affected by the town expansions projected for this province, though the rapid increases which have already occurred in these age-groups have probably left some leeway to be made up. Authorities in the West Midlands and the North East, by contrast, may be confronted with relatively unfamiliar challenges in the care of the elderly, while those in the South West, where the traditionally high proportions of older people may have given the health and welfare authorities a more than average familiarity with geriatric care, face no great increase in the numbers to be catered for.

22. These comments on whole provinces may disguise changes of a different and sometimes very striking character in the individual areas of the unitary authorities within the provinces. As remarked in paragraph 15, projections incorporating an age breakdown are not available for the unitary authorities. But some idea of the kind of changes that can be expected at this more local level may be gained from analysis of population projections (1966–81) for two standard regional subdivisions which approximate to two of the Commission's unitary authorities. In the Mid-Lancashire subdivision of the North West region, which corresponds roughly with the Commission's Preston-Leyland-Chorley unitary area, an overall population increase of 35% is forecast, including a 53% increase in under 15s and a 31% increase in people over retiring age. In the Northampton subdivision of the East Midland region, which is not unlike the Commission's Northampton unitary area, the total population is expected to rise by 50%, with under 15s increasing by 73% and retired people by 25%. Yet the North West and South East provinces, which respectively contain these unitary areas, both expect population increases rather below average and, taken each as a whole, show no exceptional changes in the child or elderly age-groups.

23. Finally it may be as well to recall that, important though changes in the numbers and age-distribution of the population may be in helping to determine the future demand for certain services, there are problems in other fields—housing, for example, or sewerage—which, while influenced by the size of the population, are so strongly affected also by such factors as the state of the existing stock or the age of existing plant that demographic forecasts are no more than an initial guide to the challenges they pose.

II. THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION WITHIN ENGLAND

24. The intention underlying this section is to establish, in a broad and general way, the volume and importance of migration of the population in England. It is here that population mobility is especially relevant as an aspect of the more

general widening of economic and social linkages that has been occurring and seems likely to increase in future. The influence of mobility on community ties and on participation in local affairs is discussed in appendix 7.

25. There are two aspects to population mobility: the short-term, usually daily, movement from home to workplace, shops, entertainment and so on, and the long-term actual movement of homes. This section is concerned with the latter form of mobility. Journey-to-work, which is often associated with movement of homes, is dealt with in section III below.

The scale of the migration

26. Although migration within the country has come to be a very well-documented subject since questions were asked about it in the censuses of 1961 and 1966, information for earlier dates is far from plentiful and virtually none existed on gross movements before the advent of war-time national registration in 1939. The linking of the registration system with food rationing lent added force to the regulations, and although the National Register, which persisted until 1952, was reputed to contain a certain amount of dead wood and to be imperfect as a guide to migration movements, it nevertheless gave rise to at least one study¹ which throws very useful light on internal migration in the war and immediately post-war years. Part of this study is devoted to the incidence of non-local moves (i.e. changes of address which involved a movement from one local authority area to another) in England and Wales as a whole. Under the impetus of wartime evacuation, such moves attained, in 1940, a peak of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million, or 19% of the population. The G.R.O. study observes that these non-local moves had subsided to some 800,000 per quarter in 1950—i.e. 3.2 million, or 7.4% of the population, in the whole year.

27. At the censuses of 1961 and 1966, people were asked where they had lived 12 months earlier and extensive analyses were made of the answers to this question. At the 1961 census, 2,168,000 people in England and Wales were estimated (the question was addressed to a 10% sample of the population) to have lived in a different local authority a year previously; and at the sample census of 1966, the number of such people was estimated to be 2,278,000. These numbers amounted respectively to 4.7 and 4.8% of the population, which suggests that this may be a minimum level of movement to be expected in peacetime. Though smaller than the phenomenal movements recorded during the war, these numbers and proportions from the last two censuses provide us with as accurate a guide as any available of the extent of mobility.

28. The data of 1961 and 1966 are not fully comparable with those of 1950 and earlier, derived from the National Register. The earlier figures were based on quarterly counts and would have included a certain proportion of short-term self-cancelling movements from one area to another and back again. But a change of address emerging in an analysis of a year's movements, as at the 1961 and 1966 censuses, would seem to constitute a move of a more permanent nature.

1. Internal Migration—Some Aspects of Population Movements Within England and Wales, by Mary P. Newton, M.A. and James R. Jeffery (Studies on Medical and Population Subjects No. 5, General Register Office, 1951).

29. Since the censuses prior to 1961 were able to show only the *net* migration balances into and out of the constituent areas of the country, it is impossible to compare the annual migration flux revealed by the 1961 and 1966 censuses with any corresponding estimates for earlier dates. But a rough analysis of *net* migration within England for the periods 1891-1901 and 1951-1961 sheds some light on the increase in movement between these two periods. For many decades, the census has provided "residual" analyses of migration, based on knowledge of the inter-censal change in population (from the census itself) and of the balance of births and deaths (from the registration records). Subtraction of the natural change (the balance of births and deaths) from the total population change gives a residual which is broadly ascribable to migration movement. This residual represents *net* movement, and very different *gross* inward and outward movements can produce the same net balance of migration. The migration analyses emerging from the National Register and from the 1961 and 1966 censuses have provided the first systematic insight into gross movements and have shown that these are usually very much larger than the net migration balances they produce.

30. But although the relationship between gross and net migration is a variable one, it is a reasonable assumption that the migration flux—the total number of moves occurring—is broadly reflected in the net migration balances in constituent areas of the country. Over the period 1891-1901 (the first measurable decennium of the post-1888 period of local government), the aggregate of the migration balances for the geographical counties of England (excluding London and Middlesex) was some 920,000. Between 1951 and 1961, the aggregate for the geographical counties excluding Greater London was 2,070,000¹, or 2½ times that of the earlier decennium. Migration movements are customarily expressed as proportions of the resident population, and even in these terms the 1951-61 aggregate is over 1½ times as great as that of 1891-1901. But it is doubtful whether, in this instance, the migration should be expressed as a proportion of the population. The increase in the population, and the related increase in the number of people available to move, and actually moving, is what has produced the changed situation for local government and it is this absolute increase which has to be looked at.

31. The factors tending to greater mobility—the general increase in disposable incomes, greatly increased car ownership, increased rates of house construction, higher housing and space standards, planned re-siting of industry and population—appear, on the census evidence, to have had the effects which were to be expected. And not only is there much greater movement of population, but possibly the most characteristic form of migration, since the 1920s, has been the movement out of cities, to the fringes and sometimes further afield. This movement, more than any other, has accentuated the illogicality of

1. There is a limit to the geographic comparability which can be achieved for two periods as far apart as these. The counties of London and Middlesex have been excluded, as the nearest approximation to Greater London, from the 1891-1901 analysis. The Parts of Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Sussex have been amalgamated at both dates, as have Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, Huntingdon and the Soke of Peterborough and Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The Ridings of Yorkshire are treated as separate entities. In all cases, county boroughs are included with the geographical counties in which they are situated.

boundaries and the consequent illogical division of services between county borough and county or, at the lower tier, between one district council and another (see also appendix 2 and map 11).

32. The movements of the war and post-war years, mentioned in paragraphs 26-27, have been described as "non-local" moves, which means no more than that they traversed local authority boundaries. A great number of them, indeed, were quite limited in distance, sometimes merely from one local authority into another immediately neighbouring it. But many, even of these movements, were from large towns to their suburbs—with the effects just mentioned. Moreover, a sizeable proportion of the migration was over quite substantial distances. Some 634,000, or 29%, of the non-local moves estimated to have occurred during the twelve months preceding the 1961 census involved distances of 40 miles or more.

33. Of migration in the future, one thing alone can be said with certainty, but it is possibly the most important thing. If the population grows at anything like the rate currently forecast, the number of people "at risk" of moving, in the demographer's parlance, will steadily increase. The mere emergence of new generations will produce a need for fresh housing, to which the young adults will move. Housing to meet needs other than those of new households (the replacement of unfit houses, for example) will similarly involve movement of people; so will industrial location policy and the planned expansion of some towns and the creation of others—all these things being planned for in profusion during the remaining years of the 20th century.

34. Some of the results of planning will, of course, work in the opposite direction. Any revival of old and outworn areas which arrests the flow of population away from them; any redevelopment of cities which makes them better able to retain their population within their own built-up limits, and reduces the need for encroachment of the built-up area on the surrounding country—these developments will make it less necessary for people to move. But the tremendous ground-swell of the population increase is expected to exceed these stabilising influences and to produce more migration of people within the country than is experienced now.

35. There is no suggestion that the more numerous movements of the future will be over long distances. Indeed, in so far as they reflect the total movements occurring, the regional net balances of migration forecast for the 15 years 1966-81 are more moderate than those of the preceding 15 years, 1951-66. The bulk of the migration will almost certainly be, as it has been in recent experience, over relatively short distances. The significant point is that the movements seem likely to be such as will strengthen the ties between town and country. Sprawl may be kept under control; new towns may be built. Yet still, the sheer growth of the population, and sometimes the very need to rehouse people at a distance from the main centres rather than allow unplanned sprawl on the edge of cities, will involve very large numbers of people in living well out from the towns on which they depend for work, education, shopping and entertainment.

Appendix 5

36. The 1966 census¹ shows, for all the standard regions, the number of people who have changed their address during periods of one and five years before the census², distinguishing among other things the number who moved within each standard region and the number who moved out of it to other areas in Great Britain. The following table shows, for each region and for both the one and five year periods, the number of movements within the region and the number originating in the region (the latter being the sum of those moving within the region and those going elsewhere in Great Britain³). From these two totals is calculated the proportion of people in each standard region who moved house without going outside the region:—

Standard region	Migrants within one year preceding 1966 census			Migrants within five years preceding 1966 census		
	Total originating in region	Number not going outside region	Col.(2) as % of col. (1)	Total originating in region	Number not going outside region	Col.(5) as % of col. (4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Northern	308,080	260,030	84	1,069,640	906,850	85
Yorks and Humberside	464,590	398,580	86	1,499,610	1,294,920	86
North West	609,730	536,840	88	2,011,920	1,787,600	89
East Midlands	294,110	238,470	81	928,770	773,370	83
West Midlands	479,160	408,630	85	1,496,630	1,283,700	86
East Anglia	152,390	116,300	76	440,800	351,950	80
South East	1,799,920	1,605,150	89	5,364,830	4,816,250	90
South West	377,950	305,370	81	1,098,920	901,240	82

Source: 1966 census

37. A very consistent pattern emerges from this table, both as between the two periods analysed and as between the eight regions. There is a slightly greater tendency, over the longer period, for migrants to remain within each region. The South East emerges as the most self-contained region and East Anglia as the least. In the South East, the enormous size of the region and the fact that virtually all of it is habitable and easily developed suggests that there is less pressure for people to move out. Moreover, the region contains extensive coastal and country areas well suited to the accommodation of people moving out of London to new homes or jobs or on retirement. East Anglia's position as the least self-contained of the regions by this criterion is less readily explained. It has been shown earlier in this appendix to be the fastest-growing region; but this net growth is associated mainly with large planned expansions centred on certain towns. The tendency to rural depopulation, associated with increasing mechanisation of agriculture, may have operated particularly strongly in this essentially agricultural region; and in East Anglia there are fewer industrial towns to absorb the movement from the country than there are in most other regions. This may have occasioned a larger proportional migration out of East Anglia than from any other region.

1. Migration, Regional Reports, Tables 1A and 1B.

2. More strictly, the numbers who, one and five years before the 1966 census, had a different usual residence address from that shown for the census date.

3. Other migrants out of each region will have gone outside Great Britain, but it was impossible for the census to show how many.

38. What seems more significant than the variations between the standard regions is the very high degree of self-containment shown by all of them. Over the five years before the 1966 census, which probably give a rather sounder basis of judgment than the one-year period, no region failed to retain at least 80% of the migrants originating within it (the average is about 85%). This assessment does, of course, exclude migrants leaving Great Britain altogether, but it is in any case doubtful whether, in the context of regions as areas of local government, people going abroad should be taken into account. Certainly this retention of migrants appears to point to a degree of cohesiveness in the regions, which is likely to apply also to the Commission's proposed provinces. The latter diverge significantly in a few places from the existing standard regions, but not sufficiently to suggest that conclusions which are valid for the regions are not valid also for the provinces.

39. The conclusions to be drawn from this section on migration are simple but not unimportant. Migration within the country, which involves more than 2 million people (or nearly 5% of the population) each year, gives evidence of having increased very greatly since the beginning of the "1888" local government era. It seems quite probable that it may have more than doubled and all the indications are that it will continue to increase. A cardinal feature of this migration since the first world war has been the movement into the suburbs around most sizeable towns, the increasing development and physical growth of small settlements further out than the suburbs, and the gradual replacement of the rural population by commuters, often living in converted cottages. All these growing settlements have strong links with the centre although they are under different local administration. But the centrifugal tendency of migration is still confined, for the most part, within the boundaries of areas as large as the present regions.

III. CHANGES IN THE VOLUME OF MOVEMENT-TO-WORK

The national and regional incidence of movement-to-work

40. Frequent mention has been made in the Commission's report and its appendices of the increasing ties between town and country and of the way in which most sizeable towns act (among their other important functions) as providers of employment for their surrounding areas (see also appendix 2 and maps 12, 13, 14 and 15). Some idea of the very large increases in the general level of commuting during the years 1921-1966 may be gained from Table 4 (p. 94), which shows, for England and its constituent regions, the number of people who worked in a local authority area other than that in which they lived and the proportions these represented of the occupied population.

41. In 1966, 5.6 million people worked outside the local authority area in which they lived, as compared with 2.6 million in 1921, so that commuting across local authority boundaries had more than doubled during a period when the number of districts and county boroughs had diminished from over 1,600 to rather fewer than 1,200. Although the occupied population of England (excluding Greater London) rose from 12.5 to 16.1 million in these 45 years, the proportion of it which traversed local authority boundaries on the way to work

increased from 21 % to 35 %. In terms of the index of proportions travelling to work across local authority boundaries (column 8 of Table 4), which allows for the increase in the occupied population, the incidence of journey-to-work was almost 70 % higher in 1966 than in 1921.

42. The most striking regional changes revealed in Table 4 are those in the extensively rural regions of East Anglia and the South West, where the proportion of the occupied population which crossed local authority boundaries between home and workplace increased from 12 % to 29 %. These regions thus come into line with such areas as the West Midlands and Yorkshire and Humberside, in which big employment centres in the heavily industrialised complexes of the Black Country and the West Riding had by 1921 established a much larger commuter flow than was found in regions which contained no major conurbation. The South East (outside Greater London), where the proportion of the occupied population working in areas other than those they lived in was higher in 1921 than in any other region, is shown in column (8) of Table 4 to have had the least increase in commuting relative to the increase in its occupied population. It remains, however, one of the two regions (the other is the North West) in which the proportion of commuters to occupied population is at its highest level of 40 %.

Reasons for the increase in movement-to-work

43. The underlying causes of the great increase in commuting during this period go much deeper than the improvements which simultaneously occurred in the various means of transport and the wider availability of certain of those means. Public transport, which carries the largest single proportion of travellers to work (in England, 36 %, according to the 1966 census) was, by 1921, already widely used by people travelling to work, and the substantial, though smaller, proportion who commuted by car in 1966 (26 %) were people who, before the great increases in car ownership, would have travelled to work by public transport. The fundamental reason for the increase in commuting and in the length of journey-to-work is the progressively greater separation of people's homes from their places of work.

44. The position has been well summarised by R. Lawton in a recent study of work-place movement¹: "The progressive widening of commuter hinterlands is the outcome of two sets of forces. First, the growing concentration of jobs at a relatively few points exerts an increasing pull for labour, especially from rural areas formerly beyond the commuter range of the cities. Secondly, overspill from the crowded inner residential areas and old established suburbs of our cities has caused wide dispersal of residence, but is accompanied by only a limited dispersal of jobs; nor does it follow that these jobs go to the overspill population."

45. Very much the same forces are at work here as those mentioned in paragraphs 33-35 in the context of migration; the majority of journey-to-work, in fact, is a direct consequence of the commonest type of migration—the outward movement from cities unable to accommodate their growing population. Some

1. R. Lawton. "The Journey to Work in Britain: Some Trends and Problems" *Regional Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, September 1968.

Basic demographic trends and their implications for the future

indication of the growth of commuting areas brought about by these processes is given in appendix 2 and illustrated by map 13, which shows how the commuting "catchment areas" for Coventry, Leicester and Northampton both widened and strengthened between 1921 and 1966. A comparison of map 13 with map 16, which shows some aspects of the migration from these same towns, illustrates the link between commuting and migration.

46. Even when, in cases such as those of the London new towns, the planned intention was to locate home and workplace in the same town, the volume of workplace movement which had developed during the main build-up period was surprisingly large, as is shown by the accompanying table (an up-dated version of one used in Lawton's paper, *op. cit.*):—

<i>New town</i>	<i>Econ- omically active resident population (1966 census)</i>	<i>Population working in new town but resident elsewhere.</i>		<i>Population resident in new town but working elsewhere</i>	
		<i>Number</i>	<i>% of econ- omically active pop.</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of econ- omically active pop.</i>
Hatfield	11,730	2,750	23	7,380	63
Hemel Hempstead	32,100	5,120	16	10,040	31
Stevenage	26,550	6,970	26	3,950	15
Welwyn	19,180	8,490	44	4,420	23
Basildon	30,930	11,750	38	9,600	31
Harlow	31,020	5,440	18	6,310	20
Crawley	30,970	9,520	31	6,010	19
Bracknell	11,750	5,790	49	2,790	24
All 8 new towns	194,230	55,830	29	50,500	26
All urban areas in the South-East (less G.L.C.)	2,878,860	938,710	33	916,550	32

Source: 1966 census

The comparison of the London new towns with all urban areas in the South East (outside Greater London) shows that, insofar as the commuting proportions in each direction are lower than those for the generality of urban areas in the South East, the aim of locating homes close to jobs in the new towns has been, at least partially, realised. The corresponding proportions for inward and outward commuting in these eight new towns in 1951 were 29 and 44%; so that, while inward commuting has grown in step with the increase in the economically active population of the new towns, outward commuting has been very markedly reduced as the towns became important employment centres in their own right and ceased to depend on neighbouring centres. But what is remarkable is the closeness of both in and out commuting percentages to those for all urban areas in the South East, only 15 years after the development of the new towns was begun. It seems unavoidable that, wherever a new growth-point may be created, whether by expansion of an existing town, as at Northampton, Ipswich and Peterborough, or by the creation of a new one, commuting will start to build up, or, in the case of an expanded town, to grow further from

its existing level. The sheer built-in preference of many people for living well away from their place of work, and often away from the large town altogether, makes commuting virtually inevitable.

Implications for the future

47. Lawton, in his paper earlier referred to, asks: "Can city overspill be matched by job dispersal, or must the inevitable accompaniment of city growth be an increase in the volume, distance and complexity of the journey to work? The two tendencies at work—concentration of industries and services and rehousing of people from overcrowded central areas—are not in harmony." And if, as he says, they are not in harmony, a growth in commuting is as predictable as the growth in migration already shown to be likely. The sheer pressure of population increase forces people out of cities, or at least out of their centres; yet for economic reasons—and sometimes because the need to preserve open land imposes a limit on building—the offices, factories and shops have not so far moved with the people to the extent that has been hoped. Even when the creation of new towns or major expansion of existing ones makes possible a contiguity of home and workplace, personal preference will often separate them. There seems, moreover, good reason to expect that the increasing pace and mental stress of urban working conditions will make people even keener than they now are to get away—and preferably into semi-rural surroundings—from the places where they work. Lawton mentions, in his study, the tendency in some places for miners and dockers, who have traditionally lived close to their places of work, to join professional people and office workers in commuting; and it may be questioned whether, in many cases, anything but limited means and the lack of good housing at reasonable prices constrains people to live in the centres of large towns.

48. Some influences—mostly in the longer term—may work in the opposite direction. If and when our city centres are so designed that pleasure in living in them replaces the stress and turmoil now experienced, home and workplace may co-exist more happily than they do at present. There is, too, the possibility that, in some forms of professional and office employment, improved telecommunications may make it possible for far more people to work at home—though here again, personal preference may operate against the concept (already familiar to many professional people) of the home as the workplace.

49. Nevertheless, the more powerful and obvious tendencies likely to prevail during the remaining years of the century operate in the direction of an increase in commuting. This has extremely important implications for the future of local government. Quite apart from the clear need for improved transport services (towards which the new conurbation transport authorities will make a start) and for more and better roads and parking facilities, there will be the vital requirement for unified planning of the physical environment over the whole area which looks to and depends upon a town as its centre. The provision of housing, in the city centre and in the surrounding country, must be a planned and co-ordinated process; and so must the location of industry and the provision of a good environment for leisure, with all that this implies for the planning and countryside authorities.

Table 1: The population of England, by broad age-groups, 1891-1967 and projections to 1981 and 2001

Age-group of population	Census populations (thousands)							Mid-year home population estimate (thousands)	Registrar General's projections of home population (thousands)		Percentage increases		
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961		1981 ¹	2001 ²	1891-1967	1967-1981	1967-2001
Persons 0-4	3,332	3,471	3,569	3,057	2,786	3,497	3,391	3,950	4,502	5,663	18.5	14.0	43.4
Persons 5-14	6,214	6,389	6,685	6,634	6,044	5,604	6,575	6,628	8,311	10,343	6.7	25.4	56.1
Males 15-64/ Females 15-59	16,006	18,776	21,118	22,745	24,913	26,380	27,034	28,011	29,487	35,701	75.0	5.3	27.5
Males 65+/ Females 60+	1,674	1,877	2,278	2,794	3,616	5,678	6,460	7,092	8,171	8,028	323.7	15.2	13.2
All ages	27,226	30,513	33,650	35,230	37,359	41,159	43,460	45,681	50,470	59,735	67.8	10.5	30.8

Sources: General Register Office (Census reports and projections); Welsh Office.

N.B. Owing to rounding, figures may not in all cases add exactly to totals.

Notes: 1. The 1981 projections are those shown for England in Appendix E of the Registrar General's Quarterly Return No. 476 and are based on age-structure data for 1966. New projections have since appeared, based on 1967 age-structures and on revised assumptions about future birth-rates and external migration. These give, for England and Wales, a 1981 population 422,000 (0.8%) lower than the 1966-based projections. The earlier projections, however, have been used in the tables of this appendix (except in respect of changes 1967-2001) because they are the only ones at present available for constituent areas of the country.

2. The published projections to the year 2001 are based on the modified birth and migration assumptions mentioned in Note 1 and relate to England and Wales, with no separate data for each of the two countries. They also relate to *total* population (including members of H.M. Forces belonging to England and Wales); this differs marginally from the *home* population, which comprises the population of all types actually in England and Wales. The Commission wishes to acknowledge the help of the General Register Office and of the Welsh Office in converting these projections from total to home population and in separating the Welsh element from the England and Wales projections, to give the home population projections for England shown in column 10 above.

Table 2: Age-groups as percentage of total population in England, 1891-1967 and projections to 1981 and 2001

Age-group of population	Census populations							Mid-year home population estimate	Registrar General's projections	
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1967	1981 ¹	2001 ²
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Persons 0-4	12.24	11.38	10.61	8.68	7.46	8.49	7.80	8.65	8.92	9.48
Persons 5-14	22.82	20.94	19.86	18.83	16.18	13.62	15.13	14.51	16.47	17.31
Males 15-64/Females 15-59	58.79	61.53	62.76	64.56	66.68	64.09	62.20	61.32	58.42	59.77
Males 65+/Females 60+	6.15	6.15	6.77	7.93	9.68	13.80	14.87	15.53	16.19	13.44
All ages	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Notes: See Table 1.

Sources: General Register Office (Census reports and projections); Welsh Office.

Table 3: The home population of the proposed provinces, by broad age-groups, 1967 and 1981

Provinces, with population, age distribution and changes, 1967-1981	1967 ¹					1981 ²				
	Persons 0-4	Persons 5-14	Males 15-64 Females 15-59	Males 65+ Females 60+	Persons all ages	Persons 0-4	Persons 5-14	Males 15-64 Females 15-59	Males 65+ Females 60+	Persons all ages
NORTH EAST										
Population (thousands)	238	441	1,680	387	2,746	263	512	1,680	471	2,926
Percentage distribution	8.7	16.0	61.2	14.1	100.0	9.0	17.5	57.4	16.1	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						10.5	16.1	0.0	21.7	6.6
NORTH WEST										
Population (thousands)	622	1,060	4,214	1,097	6,993	703	1,314	4,347	1,276	7,640
Percentage distribution	8.9	15.1	60.3	15.7	100.0	9.2	17.2	56.9	16.7	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						13.0	24.0	3.2	16.3	9.3
YORKSHIRE										
Population (thousands)	416	714	2,935	745	4,810	469	891	3,031	880	5,271
Percentage distribution	8.7	14.8	61.0	15.5	100.0	9.9	16.9	57.5	16.7	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						12.2	24.8	3.3	18.1	9.6
WEST MIDLANDS										
Population (thousands)	465	768	3,227	674	5,134	522	986	3,432	858	5,798
Percentage distribution	9.1	15.0	62.8	13.1	100.0	9.0	17.0	59.2	14.8	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						12.3	28.4	6.4	27.3	12.9
EAST MIDLANDS										
Population (thousands)	263	447	1,851	439	3,000	307	566	1,992	506	3,371
Percentage distribution	8.8	14.9	61.7	14.6	100.0	9.1	16.8	59.1	15.0	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						16.7	26.6	7.6	15.3	12.4
SOUTH WEST										
Population (thousands)	335	583	2,390	702	4,010	388	731	2,619	777	4,515
Percentage distribution	8.4	14.5	59.6	17.5	100.0	8.6	16.2	58.0	17.2	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						15.8	25.4	9.6	10.7	12.6
EAST ANGLIA										
Population (thousands)	158	276	1,207	321	1,692	220	397	1,430	344	2,391
Percentage distribution	8.0	14.1	61.5	16.4	100.0	9.2	16.6	59.8	14.4	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						39.2	43.8	18.5	7.2	21.9
SOUTH EAST										
Population (thousands)	1,453	2,339	10,507	2,727	17,026	1,630	2,914	10,956	3,058	18,558
Percentage distribution	8.5	13.8	61.7	16.0	100.0	8.8	15.7	59.0	16.5	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						12.2	24.6	4.3	12.1	9.0
ENGLAND										
Population (thousands)	3,950	6,628	28,011	7,092	45,681	4,502	8,311	29,487	8,171	50,470
Percentage distribution	8.7	14.5	61.3	15.5	100.0	8.9	16.3	58.4	16.2	100.0
Percentage increase in population, 1967-1981						14.0	25.4	5.3	15.2	10.5

Sources: General Register Office; Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

N.B.: Owing to rounding, figures may not in all cases add exactly to totals

Notes: 1. The mid-1967 estimates of total home population for the Commission's proposed provinces are based on the Registrar General's Annual Estimates of the Population of England and Wales and of Local Authority Areas, 1967. The estimates of age-groups are derived primarily from similar estimates for the standard regions of England, appearing in Appendix B of the Registrar General's Quarterly Return No. 476. For conversion of regional age-structures to those for provinces, the Commission is indebted to the General Register Office for information on the 1966 age composition of standard subdivisions of regions.

2. The 1981 projections are based on those shown for the standard regions of England in Appendix E of the Registrar General's Quarterly Return No. 476. The Commission is indebted to the General Register Office for projections, distinguishing broad age-groups, for standard subdivisions of regions and to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government for a further breakdown of these subdivisional projections, to the level of existing local authorities.

Table 4: Increases in commuting, 1921-1966

Standard Region	At 1921 census			At 1966 census			% increase 1921-1966 in numbers working outside own area of residence	Proportion working outside area of residence (1966) as index of proportion in 1921 (1921 = 100)
	Occupied population (000's)	Population working outside own area of residence		Occupied population (000's)	Population working outside own area of residence			
		Number (000's)	% of occupied population		Number (000's)	% of occupied population		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Northern	1,144	274	24.0	1,351	507	37.5	85.0	156
Yorkshire and Humberside	1,948	319	16.4	2,061	583	28.3	82.8	173
North Western	2,742	595	21.7	2,953	1,189	40.3	99.8	186
East Midlands	999	183	18.3	1,481	520	35.1	184.2	192
West Midlands	1,500	293	19.5	2,308	668	28.9	128.0	148
East Anglia	481	56	11.6	645	187	29.0	233.9	250
South East (excluding Greater London)	2,670	747	28.0	3,800	1,527	40.2	104.4	144
South West	1,038	124	11.9	1,457	427	29.3	244.4	246
England (excluding Greater London)	12,522	2,591	20.7	16,056	5,608	34.9	116.4	169

Source: 1921 and 1966 censuses.

APPENDIX 6

ALTERNATIVE PROJECTIONS OF LOCAL AUTHORITY EXPENDITURE

I. INTRODUCTION

1. This appendix explores the possible demand for local government services in the future. The aim is to assess the future growth of the services at present controlled by local authorities. In this introduction, the method of approach is outlined and some of the more serious pitfalls in the path of prediction are discussed. This should provide at the outset a clear perspective with which to assess the projections made in subsequent sections.

2. As a first step towards predicting growth, it is necessary to assess the likely change in population. There are two aspects relevant to the present exercise. On the one hand, there is the aggregate growth for the country as a whole, indicating broadly the extent to which all public services must grow to maintain current standards. On the other hand, there is the relative growth of those sectors of the population that in different contexts rely on local authority services, taking into account regional variations, changes in age distribution, changes in the distribution of population between town and country, and so on. An outline of a limited analysis of growth in different types of area is given in Annex I to this appendix.

3. From national census data and from annual returns of births, immigration and deaths, the Government Actuary's Department and the General Register Office annually project the future growth of population and its distribution by age, sex and region for periods up to the end of the century. Inevitably these are the best predictions of population growth available and one cannot do otherwise than accept them.

4. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note the extent to which they are intended as essentially provisional projections, subject to modification from year to year. The two most indeterminate factors are future immigration and fertility. During the 1960s, government restrictions on immigration into the country have to some extent served to reduce successive forecasts of growth. But this has been altogether outweighed by the effect of the increase in birth-rates over the same period which until 1966 led to successive increases in the predicted population, on the assumption that fertility would remain high. These successive revisions tended to concern the younger (as yet unborn) age groups to a far greater extent, and the oldest age groups hardly at all. In other words, assumptions concerning rates of future mortality do not appear to have altered substantially.

5. This is obviously a weakness in any calculations of future needs. Thus the estimated school population of 1981 was raised by 17% between 1960 and 1965, and any assessment of educational (or other) needs would have varied

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according to the year in which the projection was made. It must, then, be emphasised that it is in the nature of a projection that it relies on the best (and most recent) data available in order to assess *trends* rather than precise situations at any point in time.

6. Meanwhile, it would be fair to note that the upward trend in the future increases shown in earlier projections has been reversed in the light of the downturn in births after 1965. The 1966-based series, used in this appendix, show smaller increases than the series based on 1965; and the 1967-based projections are lower again. However, the school-age forecasts from the Department of Education and Science, used later in this appendix, are on a 1966 base and for the sake of homogeneity 1966-based projections have been used throughout.

7. The growth of population alone, however, does not wholly determine the future requirements for the various local government services. It is simply one very important contributory factor. In as much as there is also likely to be a changing pattern of society and of values¹, so there will be a changing pattern of popular demands and expectations, and with these changes the very definition of the needs of the population and the standards that can satisfy these needs can be expected to change.

8. Two methods of forecasting have therefore been adopted. The projection method, which simply projects recent trends, and the programme method, which takes the goals of current programmes as the guide. Any forecasting of the growth of future needs must essentially use both these forms in conjunction. Even when assessing the future growth of population which at first sight may appear pre-eminently an exercise in projecting recent trends, one has to take into account any government policies that may affect migration between regions and the future pattern of settlement. To the extent that the future has to accommodate existing trends at current standards, a projection is necessary; while to the extent that current legislation and intentions have an end in view which changes the trends or standards, some form of programme is necessary which may have to take account of the resources available for its fulfilment.

9. To employ both methods, however, raises problems. For example a programme itself must be determined by the availability of money and manpower for the programme, the changes in popular needs and standards, the effectiveness of political pressures, the self-fulfilling and self-defeating assumptions of various policies, and unforeseen problems that arise out of proposed solutions. All these things would have to be taken into account. And as matters largely of personal opinion, any of them would often be open to question.

10. In view of these obstacles to the devising of a satisfactory programme it was decided to limit the exercise as far as possible to a projection of *recent trends in expenditure* on the assumption that the determining factor for further growth would not in the last resort be any detailed programme but the continuing pressures for development on the one hand and the limitation of resources on the other. Obviously, such projections of recent trends would be modified by changes in government policy; but in the foreseeable future this is felt likely to

1. For more detailed discussion of population trends and attitudes towards local government, see respectively Appendices 5 and 7.

affect only individual services and may leave the broader pattern of growth unaffected. The principal purpose here is to examine different degrees of growth and to relate them to different rates of growth of the gross national product over the next fifteen years or more. The assumption has been throughout that there would be an evenness of development and that there would be nothing equivalent in the future to the two world wars which have had profound and lasting effects on the levels of public expenditure over the past sixty years.

11. In as much as this exercise exposes the problems entailed by prediction, it has a wider significance. The problems, many of them discussed in this introductory section, are areas of uncertainty regarding these services in which there is a limited control, if any. The services will continue to grapple with these areas of uncertainty in all their planning, growth and development. And further attempts at prediction will depend on the extent to which the areas of uncertainty can be reduced.

II. THE PROJECTION OF REVENUE EXPENDITURE: THE METHOD EMPLOYED

12. The method adopted in this exercise has been to confine attention to future growth measured in terms of financial expenditure. This facilitates direct comparison between the services and focuses on the major factor that will permit or inhibit future growth: the availability of resources.

13. In order to pursue this approach, recent growth has been examined in terms of revenue expenditure on the various services over a decade (1956-57 to 1965-66) on the assumption that the factors principally responsible for the pattern of growth during this period may be expected to play a considerable role in the pattern of growth in the ensuing 15 years to 1980-81. To have taken expenditure for the years before 1956-57 would certainly have provided more data with which to establish a pattern; but at the same time it is less certain that these earlier years would be subject to the same trends and hence the projection into the future of these trends could be less certain. No firm figures for expenditure since 1965-66 were available at the time that this exercise was undertaken.

14. The most immediate impression from expenditure over the past decade is one of very rapid growth: a total revenue expenditure of £1,500 million in 1956-57 had more than doubled to £3,300 million in 1965-66. Over the same period capital spending by local authorities had more than doubled from £570 million in 1956-57 to £1,390 million in 1965-66. These increases are partly accounted for by the 7% increase in population over this period and partly by inflation, estimated at a 55% increase in revenue costs and a 29% increase in capital costs for local government services over the same period.

15. But these increases in population and costs do not wholly account for the increase in expenditure. There remains a set of services whose revenue and capital expenditure at constant prices have increased respectively by 33% and 69% per head of population over a period of ten years. The projection of capital expenditure poses certain serious problems that are discussed in a later section.

It is more useful here to consider only the growth of revenue expenditure—that is, expenditure on goods and services—as this entails fewer assumptions regarding the future.

16. We first consider *revenue expenditure* with reference to a specific widely used service: refuse collection. In 1965–66, 25s. 3d. per head of population was spent on refuse collection by local authorities in England and Wales. At 1965–66 price levels, this sum may be regarded as representing a specific standard of service. To maintain this standard, local authorities would have to continue to spend this amount and the *total* expenditure on the service in real terms would have to increase as the population grows and as price levels rise¹. If in future less than this total sum is spent (assuming no change in the standards of efficiency) then less would be spent per head of population and there would be a fall in standards. If more than this total sum is spent, however, then it can be assumed that the facilities offer an increase in standards.

17. This line of argument forms the basis of the first type of projection attempted here and is referred to as the *current standards projection*. This is not intended as a firm forecast of future expenditure but rather as a basis for other forecasts of growth; in terms of the standards that this service has to offer, its growth depends on the extent to which it exceeds the current standards projection.

18. This does not, of course, take account of the extent to which costs can be decreased by increasing efficiency or increased by external factors although standards have been maintained. Also, the projection of current standards ignores the fact noted in paragraph 15 that costs per head at constant prices have increased for the various services over the decade since 1956–57. A projection to the year 1980–81 could continue this growth in what is referred to here as a *recent trends projection*. The problem is to discern the precise pattern of growth that should be projected. The increase in costs per head for any service does not show a regular progression. There tends to be a considerable variation in expenditure from one year to the next contained within the generally upward trend. This is well illustrated in the fire service, for example. Thus although Diagram 1 (page 99) shows an unmistakable rise in costs per head for the fire service from 14s 10d. in 1956–57 to 18s 6d in 1965–66, it is not so easy to fit a line to those ten points in order to project the future increases in costs up to the year 1980–81. Indeed the distribution of the points seems to suggest an upward curve as costs per head accelerate. The difference between fitting a straight line and fitting a curve to these points is considerable when this is projected forward to 1980–81, as is seen in Diagram 2².

19. In fact, it is possible to derive a formula statistically for the line which best fits these points and this avoids the uncertain exercise of guessing at the position and slope of the line by eye. Because of the apparent acceleration in the increase in expenditure, two lines have been constructed for this service. The first is simply the best fitting straight line and this indicates an annual increase of 5d per head; thus by 1980–81 the expenditure on the fire service

1. In the case of the refuse collection service, factors other than increasing population and price levels—e.g. increasing length of run to increasingly scarce tipping sites—also contribute to rising expenditure. The service is treated here as a generalised example only.

2. Diagrams 3 and 4 on the same page are referred to in Annex III.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

FIRE SERVICE: GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE PER HEAD AT 1966/7 PRICES

Diagram 1: expenditure
between
1956/7 & 1965/6

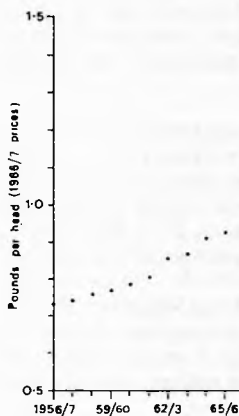
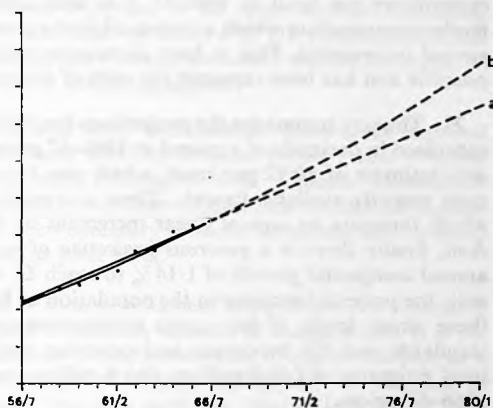


Diagram 2: expenditure projected to 1980/1
a) assuming simple growth
b) assuming compound growth



PRIMARY EDUCATION: GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL AT 1966/7 PRICES

Diagram 3: expenditure
between
1956/7 & 1966/7

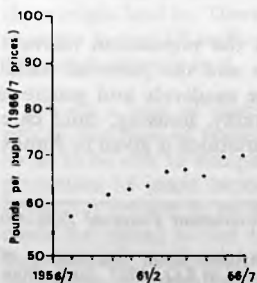
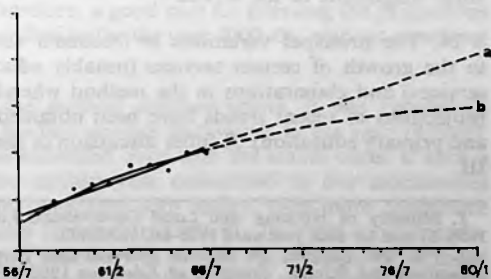


Diagram 4: expenditure projected to 1980/1
a) assuming simple growth
b) assuming decelerating growth
(see annex III)



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would reach 24s 9d per head. The second curve is logarithmic which assumes a compound growth rather than a fixed annual increment. Here, this indicates an annual growth of 1.14% amounting to an expenditure of 27s 2d. per head by 1980-81. This curve fits the points in Diagram 2 better than the straight line.

20. Other lines could be drawn to fit these points using other assumptions. For the purposes of this exercise, however, it is felt that it is sufficient to limit the projection of *recent trends* to a generous projection which assumes a higher expenditure per head in 1980-81 (i.e. with compound growth) and a more moderate projection which assumes a lower expenditure per head (i.e. with fixed annual increments). This at least gives some notion of the range of projection possible and has been repeated for each of the services.

21. Thus, to summarise the projections for the fire service for the year 1980-81 expressed in decimals of a pound at 1966-67 prices, there is first a *current standards* estimate of £0.92 per head, which was the amount spent in 1965-66 (the most recently available figure). There is a *moderate projection of recent trends* which forecasts an annual linear increment of 5d to reach £1.24 by 1980-81. And, finally there is a *generous projection of recent trends* which forecasts an annual compound growth of 1.14% to reach £1.36 by 1980-81. Taken together with the projected increase in the population of England and Wales by 1980-81, these three levels of per capita expenditure on the fire service—the current standards and the moderate and generous projections of recent trends—give total estimates of £48.0 million, £64.6 million and £70.6 million respectively at 1966-67 prices.

22. With certain modifications dictated by circumstance this has been the basic method applied to all local government services in order to assess three estimates for their future growth, based respectively on current standards, a moderate projection of recent trends and a generous projection of recent trends. Details of the statistical calculations that have led to the above estimates for the fire service are given in Annex II.

23. As a basis for the total exercise, the various services have been taken as they are listed in Local Government Financial Statistics¹. It has, however, been expedient to combine some of the lesser services into miscellaneous groups and to divide expenditure on education into various categories because of the sheer magnitude of the service².

24. The principal variations in treatment concern the population relevant to the growth of certain services (notably education and the personal social services) and elaborations in the method whereby the moderate and generous projections of recent trends have been obtained (notably, housing, child care and primary education). A fuller discussion of these variations is given in Annex III.

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government. *Local Government Financial Statistics* 1956-57 and for each year until 1965-66. H.M.S.O.

2. For this purpose the relevant financial data have been taken from Department of Education and Science. *Statistics of Education* 1966, Vol. 5, H.M.S.O. 1967 (and from certain other publications in this series). Because estimates for expenditure on education are available also for the year 1966-67, these have been included in the calculations.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

25. The use of a constant price index is not as straightforward as it might at first sight appear. It assumes a uniform quality of service and some services are more vulnerable to price changes (salaries for example) than others. Here, the main task is to examine the relative growth of the various services and it has been necessary, therefore, to use one index and one index only for *all* services. The index chosen has been that calculated by the Central Statistical Office for all local authority rate-fund services other than housing. Broadly speaking, this approach has meant that by the year 1980-81 the rise in the cost of education has been under-estimated by about 6½% and in all other services (including trading services) it has been over-estimated by about 6%. The Central Statistical Office's cost index (and implicit measure of performance) seemed as useful as any and has been accepted without further question.

26. But the problem does not end here. The constant price index supplied for revenue expenditure of rate-fund services between 1956-57 and 1965-66 rises far more steeply than the index relating to total domestic expenditure nationally. In order to compare local government expenditure with total domestic expenditure it has therefore been necessary to make an adjustment to bring the former to an identical constant price level.

27. As a result the estimates of local government expenditure for successive years presented in the next section contain an element of exaggeration. It is for this reason that the current standards projection appears to rise so sharply: at a constant expenditure per head, it is not simply coping with an increase of population at 0.8% per annum, but also with the relative inflation of local government prices at 1.7% per annum. The other projections, of course, in allowing for an increase in expenditure per head, rise even more steeply.

28. Once the calculations have been completed for projecting recent expenditure on each service to the year 1980-81, there is no inherent problem in extending these projections into the yet more distant future to, say, the year 2000-01, but inevitably the likelihood of error gets progressively greater. In extending the projections for each service to the year 2000-01, then, the aim is not to predict what local authority expenditure will be in these various fields, but merely to examine what would happen if these trends were to continue unchanged. Among other things this makes it easier to assess some of the problems of growth that might be encountered and so to predict changes that these might lead to. There is, therefore, a good case for pursuing the projections to some logical (if unlikely) conclusion for the year 2000-01, without attaching too much reliance to it.

29. As a way of checking the method outlined above, it was decided to project the lines of regression for two services backwards to the year 1938-39, so as to be able to compare the estimated costs with the actual costs. If such a projection 18 years beyond the earliest year considered in our calculations (1956-57) proved to be broadly consistent with reality, then more confidence could be placed in our estimates forward to 1980-81. In order to undertake this exercise, however, it was also necessary to project the constant price index backwards to 1938-39. For this purpose, the fire service and refuse collection were considered and the results are shown in the following table:

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Table 1: Retrospective projection for revenue expenditure on the fire service and refuse collection in 1938-39 (£million at current prices)

Service	Actual expenditure	Projected expenditure	
		Moderate projection of recent trends	Generous projection of recent trends
Fire service	2.73	3.72	4.41
Refuse collection	8.12	10.04	10.46

It will be noted that in both cases, actual expenditure was less than projected expenditure in 1938-39. On the other hand, the estimates appear to have been of the same order as the actual expenditure, and the distorting effects of the Second World War must be taken into account.

30. It cannot be over-emphasised that these projections are based entirely on the pattern of recent trends and they do not reflect current or future policies which may alter this pattern of growth. Thus, in the case of civil defence, which was among the services to be severely curtailed by the recent cuts in public expenditure following devaluation, the projection has already been overtaken by events. In the case of primary education, there are already signs that an effort is being made to implement some of the proposals of the Plowden Report and if sustained this would be reflected in an altogether more marked growth of the service. In the case of the police, the present tendency for crime to increase could engender new conditions where the service is forced to expand at a faster rate. In the case of the personal social services, any reorganisation following the report of the Seebohm Committee could lead to a new set of conditions and a new rate of growth.

III. THE PROJECTION OF REVENUE EXPENDITURE: THE RESULTS OBTAINED

31. Two features are of principal concern in the results of this exercise. The first is the *total* expenditure on local government services estimated for future years; this has been obtained simply by aggregating the estimates obtained for individual services. The second is the *proportion* of that total expenditure taken up by each service. The results have been condensed into a form that brings out each of these features in turn.

(a) Total expenditure

32. The following table shows the estimated expenditure in 1980-81 and 2000-01 under the various assumptions.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

Table 2: Total revenue expenditure on local government services (£million 1966-67 prices)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>Projected</i>		
		<i>Current standards</i>	<i>Moderate projection of recent trends</i>	<i>Generous projection of recent trends</i>
1956-57	1606.6	—	—	—
1965-66	2555.0	—	—	—
1980-81	—	4,136.3	5,094.2	5,727.1
2000-01	—	8,162.5	12,943.5	18,844.9

33. This clearly shows the prospective increase of expenditure over the period until the end of the century. Thus in the year 1980-81, £4,136.3 million would be needed simply to maintain the services at their current standards, a further £957.9million (=£5,094.2million—£4,136.3million) would be needed to bring them to the level indicated by the moderate projection of recent trends, and a further £632.9million (=£5,727.1million—£5,094.2million) would be needed to bring them to the level indicated by the generous projection of recent trends. Expressing these increases in a form that emphasises the corresponding rates of annual growth gives a set of figures that are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3: Annual rates of increase in revenue expenditure (at constant prices)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>Projected</i>		
		<i>Current standards</i>	<i>Moderate projection of recent trends</i>	<i>Generous projection of recent trends</i>
1956-57 to 1965-66	5.17%	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	3.26%	4.70%	5.53%
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	3.45%	4.66%	6.12%

34. As Table 3 shows, the rate of growth over the past decade has been 5.17% annually, which is rather higher than the projected increase viewed moderately and rather lower than the projected increase viewed generously. Taking the period 1965-66 to 1980-81: 3.26% growth is necessary to maintain current standards, a further 1.44% (=4.70%—3.26%) would be necessary to attain the moderate projection, and a further 0.83% to attain the generous projection.

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35. In 1965-66 local government revenue expenditure for England and Wales was one-twelfth of the gross national product (G.N.P.). If it were to remain at this level until 1980-81 then the percentages shown in Table 3 would give the growths of the G.N.P. necessary to sustain the corresponding growths of local government revenue expenditure. In other words, if the G.N.P. were to grow annually by 3.26%, then current (1965-66) standards could be maintained in local government services; if it rose to 4.70%, then a moderate increase could be maintained, and if it rose to 5.53%, then a generous increase could be maintained.

36. However, a feature of local government revenue expenditure is that it has risen faster than the G.N.P. throughout this century and is continuing to do so. Expressed as a percentage of G.N.P., it was 6.6% for England and Wales in 1956-57, rising consistently to 8.1% in 1965-66. If this trend continues, then it can be expected to reach 10.2% by 1980-81 and 13.3% by 2000-01. If therefore, one accepts this trend as one that will continue to the end of the century, then the annual increases in the G.N.P. that correspond with the projections shown in Table 3 would be altogether lower. Table 4 shows this range of annual increases for each type of projection.

Table 4: Annual rates of increase of G.N.P. necessary to sustain an increasing proportion of local government revenue expenditure (England and Wales only)

Period	Actual	Projected		
		Current standards	Moderate projection of recent trends	Generous projection of recent trends
1956-57 to 1965-6	2.99%	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	1.68%	3.08%	3.87%
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	2.10%	3.38%	4.74%

37. It follows that the ability of local government to expand its services will ultimately depend on the growth of the G.N.P. in future years. If the rate of growth of the G.N.P. remains at its present level of 3%, then this would imply that local government services could reach the moderate projection by about 1980-81 (where an annual increase of 3.08% is required) but could not maintain this rate of growth by the year 2000-01 (by which time an annual increase of 3.38% would be required). If, for the sake of argument, the G.N.P. rises by nearly 4% annually, then by the year 1980-81 the generous projection (requiring an increase of 3.87% annually) could be attained, but thereafter there would have to be a deceleration of growth in the services or a further increase in G.N.P.

38. The conclusion, then, is that given the assumptions on which these arguments are based there must ultimately be a falling off of recent trends for local government services: only through the progressive increase in G.N.P. can either the moderate or the generous projection be attained and sustained. It remains therefore to consider some of the underlying assumptions before following through the implications of this conclusion.

39. The first assumption is that local government revenue expenditure will continue to increase in proportion to the G.N.P. This increase has recently been at the expense of other categories of national expenditure and it might be argued that it cannot continue indefinitely: it seems reasonable to suppose that there must come a point sooner or later when this proportion can rise no further and the increase in public expenditure will level off.

40. The second assumption is that the gross national product will not itself rise to new levels, allowing more room for the expansion of local government expenditure. An increase in the gross national product would indeed allow for more expenditure on public services and this was a central point of all the various government policies designed to increase the rate of growth of the economy. But it is noticeable that concern over increasing the G.N.P. is concentrated on raising the rate of growth by $\frac{1}{2}\%$ or perhaps 1%. An increase of, say, 1% would make it easier to raise public expenditure, but it would not be a solution to the long-term problems of growth. Only if G.N.P. grows at the same rate as public expenditure can this be achieved. In other words, a rate of growth of 4% in the G.N.P. would alleviate but not solve the problem. It would mean merely that the critical point would be deferred.

41. Finally, a third assumption has been to consider local government revenue expenditure exclusively without reference to expenditure on capital assets (capital formation). This has been because of the considerable difficulties in assessing the growth of capital formation and the many factors involved. Thus shifts in central government policy could completely alter the role played by local housing authorities, leading to a major shift towards or away from building by the private sector: this service alone accounted for over 35% of local authority capital formation in 1965-66 and loans made for house purchase accounted for a further 20%. Despite the fact that a case can be made out for linking capital formation to revenue expenditure, it is difficult to discern any close relation between the two. Taking local government services as a whole, expenditure on capital formation was 70% as high as revenue expenditure in 1949 rising to 82% in 1953, dropping to 47% in 1960 and rising again to 64% in 1966. If it is argued that capital expenditure can usually be expected to be somewhere between 50% and 80% of revenue expenditure then the broad pattern of growth noted in Table 2 would be applicable also to capital formation, although there would be less certainty as regards the precise figures. On the other hand, it could also be argued that pressures for the growth of capital formation since 1960 are likely to be sustained: even when the present housing shortages have been met, there will still be severe problems in certain regions and an increasing need to replace slums and improve substandard houses. Education and highways accounted for a further 20% of capital formation in 1965-66 and are both in need of heavy capital development if they are to avoid serious problems in the future.

42. If it is accepted that the development of local government services depends on the relative growth of capital formation at a rate which exceeds revenue expenditure, then once again Tables 3 and 4 understate the problem and the critical point would be reached sooner rather than later. To illustrate this, the total local government revenue and capital expenditure between 1956-57 and 1965-66 has been projected to the years 1980-81 and 2000-01, leading to a modification of the earlier estimates. While these projections themselves are more open to question, they substantiate the present point that current trends in capital formation aggravate the situation leading to an even steeper rise in public expenditure. Table 5 is in effect an alternative version of Table 4 in which capital formation has been allowed for by assuming that it will continue to rise in proportion to local government revenue expenditure.

Table 5: Annual rates of increase of the G.N.P. necessary to sustain an increasing proportion of local government revenue and capital expenditure (England and Wales only)

Period	Actual	Projected		
		Current standards	Moderate projection of recent trends	Generous projection of recent trends
1956-57 to 1965-66	2.99	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	1.48	2.68	3.50
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	2.20	3.58	4.71

43. Table 5 is based on the assumption that local government expenditure for England and Wales, which grew from 10% of the G.N.P. in 1956-57 to 12.9% in 1965-66, will be allowed to continue to grow, reaching 17.7% by 1980-81 and 24.2% by 2000-01. The *prima facie* improbability of this assumption serves to emphasise the extent to which recent trends in local government expenditure are unlikely to continue. To summarise Tables 2 to 5, then, Table 2 shows the increase of expenditure on local government services indicated by the three types of projection at constant prices. Table 3 shows what this implies in terms of annual rates of growth. Table 4 assumes that local government expenditure will continue to take up an increasing proportion of the G.N.P. and indicates the corresponding growth of the latter necessary to permit the growth shown in Table 3. Table 5 assumes that expenditure on capital formation will continue to increase at a faster rate than revenue expenditure and indicates the necessary growth of the G.N.P. to permit this. The general conclusions to be drawn from these results are discussed in the following section.

Table 6: Local government revenue expenditure—Actual and projected proportions spent on each service

Service	Actual		Projected					
	1956-57	1965-66 (in rank order)	1980-81			2000-01		
			Current standards	Moderate projection	Generous projection	Current standards	Moderate projection	Generous projection
Secondary education	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Primary education	11.0	13.5	19.0	21.5	21.0	18.5	23.0	24.0
Further education	13.5	12.0	12.0	11.0	11.5	11.5	9.0	8.5
Highways	5.0	9.0	10.5	11.0	10.5	18.0	18.5	17.0
Police	8.0	7.5	6.5	7.0	6.5	5.5	6.0	5.5
	7.5	7.5	6.5	7.0	7.0	5.5	7.0	7.0
Education common services	7.0	6.0	7.0	7.0	6.5	7.0	7.0	6.0
Housing	6.0	5.5	4.5	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	3.5
Personal health	4.5	4.5	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.5
Passenger transport	5.5	3.5	3.0	1.5	1.5	2.5	0.5	0.5
General administration	3.5	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0
Welfare	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5
Refuse collection	3.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.5	1.0
Water	3.0	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	0.5
Education (miscellaneous)	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.0
Parks and baths	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0
Harbours, docks and piers	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.5
Miscellaneous trading services	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0
Fire service	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Children's service	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0
Sewerage	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Libraries, museums, etc.	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.5
Public health (miscellaneous)	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Miscellaneous rate-fund services	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5
Administration of justice	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.5	0.5	1.0	3.0
Public lighting	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	*
Town and country planning	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0.5	1.0	3.0
Land drainage	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Civil defence	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Base	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total expenditure (£million at 1966-67 prices)	1606.6	2,555.0	4,136.3	5,094.2	5,727.1	8,162.5	12,943.5	18,844.9

* Less than 0.25%

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

(b) Relative growth of individual services

44. Table 6 shows the projections for individual services in a somewhat condensed form. The services have been ranked according to their actual expenditure in 1965-66 to clarify the relative changes indicated by different projections. By presenting the results as a proportion of total revenue expenditure rather than as an absolute sum, it becomes easier to compare the relative sizes and rates of growth of each service and it is these that may be more directly pertinent to the claim of each service for its portion of the budget. Thus, to take the extreme right-hand column of the table (the generous projection of recent trends to the year 2000-01), the amount of money available for expenditure on local government services may be substantially less than £18,844.9 million but the relative claims of further education as against, say, the administration of justice could still be 17.0% as compared with 3.0% of the total amount available. The problem is to decide how much importance to attach to the various projections. If the more moderate projection of recent trends had been taken, for instance, then these proportions would have been 18.5% for further education as against 1.0% for the administration of justice. Had the current standards projection been taken, this would have given yet another set of figures. In comparing these different estimates, the following points are worth bearing in mind:—

- (a) Apart from passenger transport and several minor services, there is little to choose between the three projections for 1980-81 or for 2000-01. If the crude average is taken for each service (e.g. 17.8% for further education and 1.5% for the administration of justice in the year 2000-01), the general pattern of any particular projection would not be violated unduly.
- (b) Each projection has some merit as a measure of the future importance of the services. If standards are to be maintained then each service at least has a claim to its portion of the current standards projection. If limited growth is to be permitted then each service at least has a claim to its proportion of the moderate projection of recent trends. At the same time, the generous projection of recent trends was found in general to be more closely correlated with recent trends than the moderate projection and those most closely correlated with it were the fastest growing services that can claim an increasing priority in expenditure. Once again this suggests (for want of a better method) aggregating the three projections.
- (c) On the other hand, it is clear (see paragraph 30) that these projections of recent trends cannot reflect recent or future policy changes which would affect the level of the services. Thus it is possible that the fact that primary education dropped from being the most expensive service at 13.5% in 1956-57 to second place at 12.0% in 1965-66, makes it a candidate for third place by the year 2000-01. Alternatively, the official reaction to the Plowden Report makes it equally possible that it will rise once again to first place among the services considered here. Where certain services such as the police are linked to serious social problems, one may expect unforeseeable changes in policy that will seriously affect their priority and therefore the amount spent on them.
- (d) It must also be borne in mind that some services are more essential to the well-being of the community than others: for example, police, fire service, water, refuse collection and sewerage. The projected development

of these services could in certain circumstances be curtailed, but it is inconceivable that expenditure on them should be cut beyond a point where they cease to operate effectively. If the total local government budget were to be severely reduced then these services could be expected to increase their share while other less essential services are reduced.

- (e) Also, it must be remembered that this projection is solely concerned with revenue expenditure on local government services and has taken no account of capital expenditure. As explained earlier, this is a complicating factor for which no really satisfactory solution has been found. Capital expenditure and a modified version of Table 6 taking it into account are considered in the next section.

IV. THE PROJECTION OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

The Method of Projection

45. This is the most tenuous part of the exercise, and because of this the results are presented separately from the projections for revenue expenditure. Basically, the problem is the want of an adequate method by which to project capital expenditure into the future. Owing to the spasmodic character of changes in the level of public expenditure and changes in policy and priorities for capital development in the various services, it is hard to discern a reliable pattern in recent trends of capital expenditure. Any projections into the future based on slender patterns would give too wide a range of possibilities to be meaningful. A more reliable approach might be to calculate for each service the capital development required to sustain current standards, applying a moderate projection or a generous projection, but this exercise would require a mass of detailed information that was not easily available.

46. Capital expenditure can be viewed in two ways: first as all the money spent on new capital development in one year, that is, capital formation. This would include a substantial proportion that has to be borrowed by the local authorities and repaid as loan charges in future years. The second way would be to disregard the *new* debts incurred during the year and to consider solely the money currently spent on capital development from the various sources of local government income. This would comprise mostly the payment of debts incurred in earlier years, supplemented by a small proportion spent directly on capital development. This sum is referred to here as current capital expenditure.

47. In taking current capital expenditure as the basis for projection, the argument followed here is that this reflects indirectly the current standards of the service. This is not wholly far-fetched. The justification for borrowing in the first place is that it is an investment in the service and repayment tends to be linked with subsequent use. To quote three instances of this: the period of repayment for loans on vehicles is limited by law to 7 years because of the limited life of a vehicle; rents for dwellings constitute about 70% of the income of local authority housing revenue accounts while debt charges constitute about 70% of the expenditure and these tend to rise together¹; in the case of schools, the

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *Housing Statistics No. 8*, H.M.S.O., 1968, page 73.

Appendix 6

Department of Education and Science actually refers to the loan charges as "imputed rental payments"¹. Thus, these loan charges can be regarded as a part of the current cost of running each service.

48. The other component of current capital expenditure is the money spent directly on capital development that has not been borrowed, of which more than one-half is obtained from the sale of land and council houses and from the Ministry of Transport's grant towards highways. To equate this with the current service could be to stretch an already taut argument too far. But it can be pointed out that this is a minor part of current capital expenditure for any year, and the fact that it is spent in a certain way on certain services rather than others may be at least an indirect measure of the immediate needs of these services.

49. At this point a number of assumptions become possible. First, it can simply be assumed that the rise in current capital expenditure as a whole will tend to follow the rise in revenue expenditure as a whole and hence the inclusion or exclusion of the former will not affect the projections for rates of growth as they appeared in Tables 3 and 4. Secondly, it can be assumed that for each service, current capital expenditure will rise as revenue expenditure for that service rises to give a modified estimate. The precise balance between revenue and current capital expenditure would be obtained by taking the amounts spent in, say, 1965-66. Or thirdly, account can be taken of the fact that in most services current capital expenditure has been rising more steeply (or occasionally less steeply) than revenue expenditure and this trend can be projected to 1980-81 and even to 2000-01. Although the third assumption is at first sight the least unsatisfactory for projection, the results showed such a steep rise in expenditure, especially for housing, that long before 1980-81 the increase in capital expenditure would have to tail off in this and perhaps in one or two other services. This is a good example of the dangers of relying on this method of forecasting. Consequently, the second, less satisfactory, assumption has also been taken as possibly a more realistic appraisal under the circumstances. These two assumptions are referred to below as *restricted capital growth* and *continuing capital growth*. Because the current standards forecast is an essentially notional projection of what must be done simply to maintain current standards for a growing population and a degree of inflation, no estimate of capital expenditure at current standards is attempted.

50. Thus, to take the fire service again as an example, current capital expenditure expressed as a ratio of revenue expenditure increased from 7.38% in 1956-57 to 10.48% in 1965-66. Assuming a constant balance between the two forms of expenditure (restricted capital growth), one would assume that the ratio remains at 10.48% until the end of the century and so derive an estimate of current capital expenditure from the existing projections for revenue expenditure (see paragraph 26). If, however, one assumes a continued increase of the ratio (continuing capital growth) then this would be of the order of 14.47% by 1980-81 and of 20.03% by 2000-01 and estimates of current capital expenditure would be proportionately higher.

1. Department of Education and Science, *Statistics of Education* 1966, Vol. 5. H.M.S.O., 1967, Table 1.

V. THE RESULTS OF THE PROJECTION

51. Table 5 has already shown the modification of earlier estimates when one takes capital expenditure into account. It was, however, based on a projection of capital formation for all local government services and not on the projection of current capital expenditure for each individual service. In so far as the table indicated that under present or foreseeable economic circumstances even the moderate projection was hardly attainable, it is worth re-examining capital expenditure using the notion of current capital expenditure (related to the present standards of the service and to some extent rising and falling with revenue expenditure) rather than capital formation (related to future investment, sudden cuts or crash programmes). Revenue and current capital expenditure together are referred to here as *total current expenditure*, that is the total amount spent by local authorities from their various sources of income, but excluding loans for which they will pay in future years.

52. Table 7 shows the annual rates of increase in total current expenditure for all services. By assuming on the one hand two possibilities as regards the growth of current capital expenditure (*restricted* and *continuing*), and on the other hand two possibilities as regards the growth of revenue expenditure based on recent trends (moderate and generous), there are altogether four projections for any one year. As the table is read from left to right, the assumptions underlying the projections take progressively less account of the constraints on continued growth and are hence less realistic.

Table 7: Annual rates of increase of total current expenditure on services (at constant prices)

Period	Actual	Projected			
		Moderate projection of recent trends		Generous projection of recent trends	
		Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth	Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth
1956-57 to 1965-66	5.42%	—	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	5.36%	6.74%	6.45%	8.04%
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	4.53%	5.48%	5.86%	6.74%

Appendix 6

53. When this table is compared with Table 3 it is evident that the projected rates of growth tend to be considerably higher, especially when one assumes a continuing relative growth of current capital expenditure.

54. Because it is as unlikely that current capital expenditure will continue to grow at its present rate as it is that it will not grow at all, it is useful to try to reduce the wide divergences between these projections. This can be done by excluding housing from the calculations. A good case can be made out for this on purely logical grounds. The projection for housing, as for other services, has rested on the assumption of a continuation of recent trends. But in housing, above all other services, it seems very unlikely that the existing balance between local authority and private housing, which tends to reflect present shortages, will continue indefinitely. Moreover, of all the major services, the possibility of substituting private for public activity is perhaps the greatest in housing. A financial argument can also justify the exclusion of housing. So long as the expenditure on the service is paid for out of the rents of the householders, it can be kept separate from other services that depend largely on government grants and rates. Indeed, it can be argued that so far as the growth of the total economy and the G.N.P. is concerned, it is merely a matter of book-keeping whether the occupiers are council tenants paying rents to pay off a loan debt or private houseowners paying off a mortgage. A shift in the balance of housing from the public to the private sector (or vice versa) would affect the total expenditure of local authorities, but it need not affect the expenditure or repayment on housing by the nation as a whole. Table 8 is a modification of Table 7 after housing has been excluded.

Table 8: Annual rates of increase of total current expenditure on services excluding housing (at constant prices)

Period	Actual	Projected			
		Moderate projection of recent trends		Generous projection of recent trends	
		Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth	Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth
1956-57 to 1965-66	5.04%	—	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	5.17%	5.43%	5.93%	6.18%
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	4.78%	4.99%	6.22%	6.37%

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

55. When one compares it with Table 7, a number of features become apparent. In the first place, the estimates of rates of growth tend to be lower than in Table 7 and the range of estimates is altogether smaller. Secondly, the assumptions as regards the growth of capital expenditure (restricted or continuing growth) do not substantially alter the projections. In fact the estimates as a whole tend to be only slightly higher than in Table 3.

56. Once again, one would like to know what rates of growth of the G.N.P. would be necessary to sustain the rates of growth of local government services projected in Table 8. An estimate of this is given in Table 9, again on the assumption that local government expenditure in England and Wales (this time total current expenditure, excluding housing) will continue to rise more sharply than the G.N.P.

Table 9: Annual rates of increase of G.N.P. necessary to sustain an increasing proportion of local government total current expenditure
(England and Wales only and excluding housing)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Actual</i>	<i>Projected</i>			
		<i>Moderate projection of recent trends</i>		<i>Generous projection of recent trends</i>	
		<i>Restricted capital growth</i>	<i>Continuing capital growth</i>	<i>Restricted capital growth</i>	<i>Continuing capital growth</i>
1956-57 to 1965-66	2.99%	—	—	—	—
1965-66 to 1980-81	—	3.49%	3.69%	4.21%	4.48%
1980-81 to 2000-01	—	3.47%	3.68%	4.88%	5.00%

57. The table shows that a 3.5% growth of G.N.P. annually could just sustain the slowest growth of local government services (excluding housing). In other words, if the G.N.P. increases by 3.5%, if one accepts the most moderate projection for revenue expenditure for each service, if current capital expenditure does not grow any faster than revenue expenditure, and if local government expenditure is permitted to continue to take an increasing proportion of the G.N.P. until the end of the century—then a continuation of recent trends is possible. If the G.N.P. were to grow at a rate faster than 3.5% then some of the more ambitious projections might be possible. On the other hand, if any one of these assumptions is invalid, then once again the conclusion must be that even an unambitious projection of recent trends is unattainable, and a new, slower rate of growth can be expected.

Appendix 6

58. There remains the distribution of available expenditure between services, assuming once again that recent trends in growth are relevant at least to a modified future budget. Table 10 shows the relative growth of recent and projected total current expenditure for the services and it compares with Table 6, where revenue expenditure alone was considered. However, it should be noted that in Table 10:

- (a) there is no projection of current standards, for reasons given in paragraph 49;
- (b) the two further possibilities of restricted growth of current capital expenditure and of a continuing growth have been used as in Tables 7, 8 and 9;
- (c) the estimates for each service add up to more than 100, and are therefore not in the strictest sense percentages. Thus in the moderate projection of recent trends with restricted capital growth for 1980-81, the proportion 21.0% for secondary education is not 21.0% of all expenditure but $\frac{21.0}{120.0}$ % or 17.5%. The reason for this is once again to make allowance for housing. Quite apart from the uncertainties that pervade the projections for this service, and its arguable relevance for the future growth of local government services as a whole, the sheer magnitude of the projections belittles the other services and makes direct comparison with Table 6 difficult. In order to facilitate this comparison, the proportions have been increased uniformly so that the totals of all services apart from housing are identical between the two tables. Thus in Table 6, in the moderate projection for 1980-81, housing accounted for 4.0% of revenue expenditure and the other services for 96.0%. In Table 10 the total current expenditure of all other services still adds up to 96.0, although in order to make this possible and yet still to retain a comparison between all services it has been necessary to increase housing to 24.0 and to increase the base to 120.0.

VI. THE GROWTH FACTOR

59. By ranking the services in Tables 6 and 10 according to their expenditure in 1965-66, it is possible to appreciate how each of the projections affects any service in relation to others. Once again, the broad impression from Table 10 is that different projections using different assumptions have broadly similar results for most services. It is useful at this point to condense these results into a form which clearly illustrates the relative growth predicted for each service. In order to do this, what may be called a growth factor has been obtained from Tables 6 and 10. The growth factor is simply the projected proportion of expenditure (averaged for all projections) divided by the actual proportion in 1965-66. Thus if a service is expected to have a relatively higher rate of growth than other services, the ratio will be higher than 1.00; otherwise it will be below 1.00. The growth factors derived from Table 6 (revenue expenditure) and Table 10 (total current expenditure) are shown in Table 11 and they are ranked in order of magnitude. Thus town and country planning is expected to grow faster in relation to its size than any other service and is placed at the top of the list.

**Table 10: Local government current expenditure on revenue and capital accounts—
Actual and projected proportions spent on each service**

Service	Actual		Projected							
	1956-57	1965-66	1980-81				2000-01			
			Moderate projection of recent trends		Generous projection of recent trends		Moderate projection of recent trends		Generous projection of recent trends	
			Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth	Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth	Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth	Restricted capital growth	Continuing capital growth
Housing	17.5	19.5	24.0	44.5	30.0	55.5	19.0	58.0	22.0	68.0
Secondary education	13.0	14.5	21.0	19.0	20.5	18.5	22.5	19.0	23.0	20.0
Primary education	12.5	11.0	10.5	10.0	11.0	10.5	8.5	7.5	8.0	7.5
Further education	5.0	8.5	11.0	11.0	10.5	10.5	18.5	18.0	17.0	16.5
Highways	8.0	8.5	8.0	9.0	7.5	8.5	7.0	9.5	6.5	8.5
Police	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.5	6.0	7.0	6.0
Education common services	6.0	5.5	6.5	6.0	6.0	5.5	6.5	6.0	5.5	5.0
Personal health	4.0	4.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0
Passenger transport	5.0	3.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Water	4.0	3.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0
General administration	3.0	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	2.5
Sewerage	2.0	2.5	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	3.5	1.5	2.5
Welfare	2.0	2.5	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
Miscellaneous trading services	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.5
Education (miscellaneous)	2.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.5
Refuse	2.5	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0
Harbours, docks and piers	3.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	0.5
Parks and baths	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0
Fire service	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Miscellaneous rate-fund	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.0
Libraries, museums etc.	1.0	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Children's service	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Town and country planning	0.5	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.5	4.5	4.0
Public health (miscellaneous)	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Land drainage	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Public lighting	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	*	0.5	*	*
Administration of justice	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.5	2.5
Civil defence	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Base	111.5	114.5	120.0	140.5	125.0	150.5	116.0	155.0	118.0	164.0
Total expenditure (£million at 1966-67 prices)	2,046.1	3,287.5	7,210.2	8,778.9	8,445.6	10,576.4	17,593.9	25,509.5	26,384.7	39,110.5

* Less than 0.25.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

60. It is significant, however, that the growth factors for 19 of the 28 services cannot be accepted without some comment. This is a symptom of the uncertainty that underlies this exercise. Some of the comments noted in the table have already been mentioned in paragraphs 30, 44 and 54. In addition it is worth noting a number of further points. In the first place town and country planning and general administration are ambiguous categories: there is an element of choice for individual local authorities to record certain aspects of expenditure under these or under quite different headings, so that what may appear to be trends in expenditure are in reality trends in the allocation of costs between departments within local authorities. Secondly, there may be limitations in growth for some services because of staff shortages. Finally as an increasingly prosperous nation, we always face a choice between increasing our G.N.P. and material benefits on the one hand, and increasing our leisure time on the other. If it is the latter, there is likely to follow an increase in the demand for such services as parks and swimming baths, libraries, museums, etc. These could therefore be expected to rise in the list.

61. Table 11 very briefly represents the relative growth of various services if recent trends in expenditure continue to the indefinite future. It is, however, subject to two major reservations. In the first place, it is not a programme for growth and if there are significant and effective changes in government policies or of popular demands on these services, then these rates of growth will alter relatively; there are already quite definite signs that such changes are taking place in certain services, while other changes can be feasibly expected in others. Secondly, as already pointed out in paragraph 44 (d), certain services are basic to life and society. In the event of drastic curbs on public expenditure one would expect water, refuse collection and sewerage to be promoted to half-way up Table 11, and the police and fire services to be promoted from half-way up the table to the top. It seems likely that those aspects of local government concerned with future investment (such as education, town and country planning, or all forms of new capital formation) or with minority interests—such as the personal social services or libraries—would suffer most. These qualifications and those discussed earlier are also listed in Table 11.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

62. This analysis of the local government services has relied on the basic and far-reaching assumption that recent trends in expenditure will continue into the foreseeable future. Allowance has been made for inflation, for different rates of growth in each service, for trends in future demand and for a range of possible growths. There is a further point. The analysis suggests that even if it is assumed that the increase of public over private spending continues and the more moderate projection of recent trends in local government expenditure is taken, it would be necessary for the gross national product to increase by 4% annually by the end of the century. If it is also assumed that the ratio of public to private spending is unlikely to continue to increase at the present rate, then even this moderate projection becomes unattainable.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

Table 11: Growth factor for 28 local government services

Service	Growth factor (and rank)		Comments and qualifications	Paragraph reference
	Revenue expenditure	Total current expenditure		
Town and country planning	3.00 (1)	2.31 (1)	Ambiguous and possibly too optimistic	60
Secondary education	1.66 (2)	1.41 (5)	—	
Administration of justice	1.63 (3)	1.43 (4)	—	
Further education	1.58 (4)	1.66 (3)	Possibly optimistic; assumes capital available for further development	33
Education (miscellaneous)	1.38 (5)	1.31 (6)	—	
Education common services	1.10 (6)	1.07 (7)	Possibly optimistic; government cuts in school meals service	
Welfare	1.10 (7)	1.03 (8)	Effects of Seeböhm not known	30
Libraries, museums, etc.	1.00 (8)	1.00 (9)	Possibly future increase in leisure	60
Public health (miscellaneous)	1.00 (9)	1.00 (10)	—	
Civil defence	1.00 (10)	1.00 (11)	Too optimistic: government cuts likely	30
Police	0.93 (11)	0.99 (13)	Possibly pessimistic: growing crime rate	30, 44c, 44d
Personal health	0.86 (12)	0.84 (17)	Effects of Seeböhm and Green Paper not known	30, 44d
Highways	0.83 (13)	0.95 (14)	—	
Primary education	0.83 (14)	0.88 (16)	Possibly too pessimistic: effects of Plowden	30, 44c
Land drainage	0.80 (15)	0.64 (23)	—	
Children's	0.83 (16)	0.71 (19)	Effects of Seeböhm not known	30
Fire service	0.75 (17)	1.00 (12)	Pessimistic: basic service less susceptible to cuts	44d
General administration	0.75 (18)	0.75 (18)	Ambiguous	60
Miscellaneous rate-fund services	0.75 (19)	0.58 (24)	—	
Housing	0.70 (20)	2.06 (2)	Very unpredictable	54
Parks and baths	0.69 (21)	0.69 (20)	Possibly pessimistic: future increase in leisure	60
Misc. trading services	0.68 (22)	0.68 (22)	—	
Sewerage	0.67 (23)	0.95 (15)	Pessimistic: basic service less susceptible to cuts	44d
Refuse collection	0.60 (24)	0.69 (21)	Pessimistic: basic service less susceptible to cuts	
Water	0.56 (25)	0.46 (26)	Pessimistic: basic service less susceptible to cuts	
Harbours, docks and piers	0.50 (26)	0.50 (25)	—	
Public lighting	0.38 (27)	0.31 (27)	—	
Passenger transport	0.29 (28)	0.29 (28)	—	

Appendix 6

63. By disregarding housing, which, quite apart from the probability that it will not maintain its present growth rate, poses serious problems for projection, it has been possible to reconcile the most unambitious projection of recent trends with a 3.5% growth of G.N.P., but some of the assumptions underlying this projection were, to say the least, questionable.

64. A number of possibilities therefore present themselves:

- (a) that the G.N.P. will increase annually at a faster rate and so permit a continuing growth of public expenditure;
- (b) that the nation will accept a relative decrease in personal spending indefinitely in order to permit a continuing growth of public expenditure;
- (c) that the rate of inflation in public services will drop;
- (d) that public expenditure will not increase as fast as it has done in the past.

Each of these is considered in turn.

65. (a) As has been shown, an increase in the G.N.P. of, say, 1% annually above and beyond the present rate of increase would solve the immediate problem, but would not in the last resort permit an ever increasing rise of public expenditure over private expenditure unless the annual rate of increase of the G.N.P. also keeps rising indefinitely.

66. (b) It may be noted that Table 4 assumed that the ratio of local government revenue expenditure (England and Wales) to G.N.P. would more than double between 1956 and the end of the century. A similar rate of increase was assumed for Table 9. While it may be a debatable point how far and for how long this trend will persist, it is difficult to see how it can do so indefinitely. It is worth noting that over the period considered, the relative increase in public expenditure has been essentially due to increasing expenditure on local government services and not by central government departments and public corporations.

67. (c) It is true that local government costs have risen at a faster rate than other sectors of public and private expenditure. On the other hand, any decrease in this trend seems likely to make local government less competitive for labour with the private sector.

68. (d) In the present exercise the services run directly by central government or the public corporations have not been considered. It is impossible, therefore, to assess how far local government with its present range of services would be in a position to maintain its relative share of public sector expenditure. However, so far as the individual services are concerned, it has been possible to assess their relative claims on the assumption that those showing the fastest rates of growth have had greater priority for development and that this would continue.

69. On this assumption a crude growth index for each service was devised in which aspects of education apart from primary education are projected to grow at the expense of public transport and various aspects of public health.

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

There are, however, a number of factors which suggest that such projection may be invalid. Recent moves to improve the rate of growth of primary education and recent cuts in expenditure on further education suggest that priorities near the top of the list can be expected to change. Expenditure on some services such as town and country planning may well be accounted for under some other heading. At the other end of the scale, it is unrealistic to think of various public health services such as water, refuse collection or sewerage being run down to any substantial degree, and if there is to be any limitation on expenditure by local authorities in the future, it seems likely that these services will maintain their level of expenditure and thereby increase their proportion of the total.

70. The current and future changes in priority, of course, would alter this pattern of relative growth. But a more fundamental point remains and this is relevant to the findings of the Committee on the Management of Local Government. The present exercise has shown that the recent growth of local government expenditure is out of proportion to the growth of national expenditure and, in a sense, local government has had what can only be described as its own sustained boom-period with relatively little effective competition. This is not to suggest that the growth of local government has been unaffected by periodic restrictions on capital expenditure, by the determination of various councils to keep the rates down, or by interdepartmental competition for limited resources. But it does imply that in spite of these factors there has been rapid growth for a considerable period.

71. In Chapter 3 of its main report, the Management Committee noted the vertical division of local authority activities into functional departments headed by committees without any effective co-ordinating and integrating agency. Viewed in the context of the relatively rapid growth of many local authority services over the recent past outlined in this appendix, the need for a unifying focus may have been less urgent. But with the prospect of a diminishing rate of growth, which this appendix also suggests, the need for it seems likely to be much more pressing. The Management Committee's proposals for a more unified and co-ordinated structure, therefore, become very pertinent. Quite apart from the implications that such an innovation will have for enhanced efficiency, it may be all-important for fulfilling the most essential local needs on a more limited budget.

ANNEXES

Annex I of this appendix outlines the principal findings of a subsidiary exercise examining the growth of local government services in different types of area. Because of the generally negative results obtained, this exercise did not merit detailed presentation in the earlier analysis. In Annex II, the fire service, which earlier in the appendix proper was taken as an illustration of the projections, is again taken as example. In Annex III, an outline is given of the various elaborations that were made of the basic method of projection for certain services as various problems arose.

ANNEX I

The Growth of Services in Different Types of Local Authority Area

1. As an adjunct to this exercise, the recent growth of services in different local authorities was analysed. Thus, having examined the relative growth between different services, the enquiry shifted to the relative growth between different types of area. If certain types of area could be identified as showing a more rapid growth in recent years, this could be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it might be argued that, as with the services in the appendix proper, these patterns of growth are likely to be sustained and therefore the future can be assessed by suitable projection. On the other hand, it might be argued that there are factors which would inhibit further growth in the faster growing areas and would encourage more growth elsewhere. A more elaborate approach would consider individual services in these areas and take into account their varying needs and resources. In the last resort, it would have to be established that differences in the growth of expenditure do in fact reflect differences in the growth of standards and performance, and are not merely due to local changes in local efficiency.

2. The immediate task, however, was to identify the differences in recent growth of expenditure between types of authority in order to see whether they do in fact exist. For this exercise, however, it was more convenient to consider local authority income rather than expenditure. Provided that the exercise was not concerned with specific services run by each local authority, the two were basically the same; and, moreover, data giving the incomes are readily available, whereas data showing the expenditure are dispersed in their individual annual abstracts of accounts.

3. A further advantage in using income rather than expenditure was that it became possible to compare the growth of income obtained from rates (the rate call) with that obtained from central government grants. A relatively high growth in the rate call would imply that it was due to some essentially locally recognised need or local initiative; while a relatively high growth in government grants would imply it was due to changes in central government policy towards the subsidy of local government finance.

4. Taking local government income as a whole, the rate call may be regarded as a residue that has to be found after receiving government grants, funds from trading services and miscellaneous incomes. If a change in formula of the government grant structure tends to have favoured certain types of authority unduly or insufficiently, it could be expected that this would be reflected in the growth of the rate call. If poorer or sparser or faster growing authorities are, for instance, undercompensated by the trends in the grant structure then their rate call per head must increase relative to others, or their services decline in standard, or both.

5. These parallel increases in grant and rate call were found to vary substantially between different local authorities, as is shown by the following table. The question was whether this degree of variation could be accounted for by differences in the type of area administered.

Table 12: Range of increase in income per head for individual local authorities (1959-60-1967-68)¹

	<i>Central government grants</i>	<i>Rate call</i>
All administrative counties maximum increase minimum increase	78 % 195 % (Rutland) 43 % (Isle of Wight)	74 % 129 % (Berks.) 46 % (E. Yorks.)
All county boroughs maximum increase minimum increase	100 % 144 % (Huddersfield) 18 % (Northampton)	85 % 156 % (St. Helens) 24 % (Barrow)

6. To attempt to account for this large variation, all the 40 administrative counties and the 70 county boroughs included in the sample were therefore examined according to the following criteria:

- (a) population size
- (b) population increase (1959-1967)
- (c) region
- (d) domestic rateable value per head (a rough measure of affluence)
- (e) degree of urban concentration (proportion of county populations dwelling in urban areas; proximity of county boroughs to conurbation centres)
- (f) government grants per head in 1959-60 (examined for increase in grants only)
- (g) rate call per head in 1959-60 (examined for increase in rate call only).

7. Discernible trends tended to concern the growth of government grants rather than the rate call. Moreover, they could be accounted for largely by known changes in the formula for calculating the grants that have occurred since 1959. The significant feature was not that they existed, but that they were altogether slight as compared for instance with the marked contrasts between individual authorities noted in Table 12.

8. Bearing in mind the extent to which the rate call may be regarded as a residue designed to make up for the deficiencies of income from other sources,

1. By examining income per head rather than simply income, the immediate effects of a change of population for any area were avoided. Because county councils delegate responsibility to their districts to varying extents and the degree of delegation may change from time to time, it would have confused the analysis to consider these as separate authorities. Those considered therefore were the county boroughs on the one hand and the administrative counties, combining the incomes and responsibilities of both tiers, on the other. Only English authorities were considered and those seriously affected by local government reorganisation, as for instance the Home Counties after the formation of the Greater London Council, were excluded. It was possible, however, to consider simple amalgamations or changes in status as one inclusive unit before and after the event. Thus the separate incomes of Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough were combined to arrive at a 1959-60 figure; similarly Luton C.B. and Bedfordshire were combined to arrive at a 1967-68 figure.

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it is equally significant that the analysis of increases in the rate call did not produce significant trends. It follows that no variable considered here has an undue influence on the extent to which local authorities spend money to meet their commitments, or to pursue their individual policies. It also follows that the growth of expenditure is largely a matter for the individual initiative of each authority and that external considerations—or at least those considered here—have been essentially extraneous.

9. It also follows that it would be very difficult to predict how the growth of rate call is going to affect different types of authority with different types of problem in the future. Obviously, much will depend on any future changes in the grant formula, new sources of local government income and possibly other factors. But these changes are at present unpredictable and so there remains only the broadest of assertions that there appears to be no recent pattern in the growth of income per head and no basis for projecting it into the future for individual types of authority.

ANNEX II

Growth of Expenditure on the Fire Service

1. This annex outlines the projections for future expenditure on the fire service as a means of illustrating the approach adopted in this exercise. The treatment of other services has been essentially similar apart from the exceptions noted in Annex III.

2. The method has been to examine the growth in revenue expenditure per head at constant prices for the financial years 1956–57 to 1965–66. Under assumptions of maintaining current standards, of achieving moderate growth

Table 13: Growth of revenue and current capital expenditure on the fire service*

Year	Revenue expenditure at current prices (a)	Constant price index for local government rate-fund services (1966–67 = 100) (b)	Revenue expenditure at 1966–67 prices $\left(\frac{(a) \times 100}{(b)}\right)$ (c)	Population in England and Wales (d)	Expenditure per head $\left(\frac{(c)}{(d)}\right)$ (e)	Current capital expenditure (including loan charges) at current prices (f)	Current capital expenditure as % of revenue expenditure $\left(\frac{(f) \times 100}{(a)}\right)$ (g)
	£m	%	£m	m	£	£m	%
1956–57	20.88	62.97	33.15	44.67	0.742	1.54	7.38
1957–58	22.44	66.88	33.54	44.91	0.747	1.94	8.65
1958–59	23.75	69.33	34.24	45.11	0.759	2.16	9.12
1959–60	25.40	72.23	35.15	45.39	0.774	2.02	7.97
1960–61	27.19	75.63	35.94	45.76	0.786	2.32	8.55
1961–62	29.44	79.47	37.03	46.21	0.801	3.13	10.60
1962–63	31.62	82.26	39.90	46.71	0.854	3.03	9.02
1963–64	35.89	88.41	40.59	47.03	0.863	3.30	9.21
1964–65	39.52	91.25	43.31	47.40	0.914	3.76	9.52
1965–66	42.91	97.29	44.11	47.76	0.924	4.50	10.48

* Source: Local Government Financial Statistics (revenue and current capital expenditure); Central Statistical Office (constant price index for local government (rate fund) revenue expenditure); General Register Office (population estimates).

Alternative projections of local authority expenditure

and of achieving a generous growth, these trends are then projected to the years 1980-81 and 2000-01. The growth of current capital expenditure (money spent by local authorities from their total current account on capital formation) is then examined in relation to revenue expenditure and recent trends are again projected into the future. The growth of recent expenditure is shown in Table 13.

3. The relevant columns for projection in this table are (e) and (g). In order to project column (g), a line of regression was fitted to the series and extended to the years 1980-81 and 2000-01; this gave values of 14.47% and 20.02% respectively with a correlation coefficient of $r=0.84$. Two projections of column (e) were calculated based on an assumption of linear growth and of logarithmic growth; these lines of regression had correlation coefficients of $r=0.970$ and 0.975 respectively. For each projection, the estimate of revenue expenditure per head (column (e)) was multiplied by the officially projected population.

4. The estimates of expenditure for these years using the three forms of projection are summarised in Table 14. The current standards projection was based simply on the 1965-66 expenditure per head; and the moderate and generous projections were based respectively on the linear and logarithmic assumptions for growth.

Table 14: Estimates of expenditure on the fire service in 1980-81 and 2000-01

<i>Date</i>	<i>Type of expenditure</i>	<i>Projection</i>		
		<i>Current standards</i>	<i>Moderate projection</i>	<i>Generous projection</i>
1980-81	Revenue expenditure	£48.0m	£64.4m	£70.6m
	Current capital at 14.47%	—	£9.3m	£10.2m
	Total current expenditure	—	£73.7m	£80.8m
2000-01	Revenue expenditure	£59.1m	£107.1m	£147.3m
	Current capital at 20.02%	—	£21.5m	£29.5m
	Total current expenditure	—	£128.6m	£176.8m

ANNEX III

Elaborations of the Method of Projection for Certain Services

1. In paragraphs 16-38 and 53-58 of the main appendix the basic method for projecting the growth of expenditure was explained. It has, however, been necessary to judge each service on its merits and to adjust the method as the circumstances seemed to demand. The principal variations in treatment concern

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the population relevant to the growth of certain services, and the basis on which moderate and generous projections have been made. These are discussed in turn.

(a) Relevant Population

2. In considering the growth of various services, it was found useful to isolate two elements: the growth of the population served and the increase in standards offered (expressed in terms of cost per head). So far as refuse collection or the fire service was concerned, the population served was regarded as the total population of England and Wales. In the case of certain local authority services, however, such as education or the personal social services, the relevant population served is clearly less than the total population and one is primarily concerned with the growth of certain relevant age groups.

3. Estimating the future population of local authority schools is greatly simplified by the fact that projections to the year 1990 have been specifically made by the Department of Education and Science and these have been accepted here at their face value. Estimating the population relevant for the personal social services, however, is less simple. In the first place, they are only concerned with a small minority of the total population and secondly the costs entailed by those receiving these services vary considerably from one recipient to another according to needs and the nature of the problem.

4. In order to allow for these factors it has proved useful to devise what may be called the *potential client population* for each of these services. Thus, while for the fire service every person in the total population may potentially be a client, in the personal social services, certain age groups are more likely to require help. In the case of the welfare service these are more likely to be people aged over 70 years. In the case of the children's service they are more likely to be younger children so far as coming into care is concerned, or older children so far as remaining in care is concerned. In the case of personal health, one part of the service is concerned with new-born infants and another part is concerned with children up to the age of four. It seems logical, therefore, to weight the total population of age groups according to the degree to which they entail expenditure in each service and to regard this weighted population as a measure of the potential client population relevant to the growth of the service. It is the consistency of this as a measure rather than its absolute size that is relevant for present purposes. A note on the calculations for the potential client population of these services is included at the end of this annex.

5. For further education it was also necessary to devise some measure of the relevant population and for this purpose resort was had to the number of potential students. These were obtained from the total numbers of school children aged 18 during the previous three years. On balance, this seemed as reasonable an assumption as any, given the heterogeneous nature of those actually making use of this service.

6. The relevant population for housing is inevitably based on a less satisfactory set of assumptions. Recent projections of the number of households in England and Wales have been taken as a measure of potential units of demand for local authority housing. However, the state of flux in the balance between

local authority housing and private housing has been considerable. To assume that trends during the last decade will continue in the same direction during the next 15 years is perhaps one of the weakest assumptions that has had to be made. Data for projected school populations and households were not available for the year 2000-01 and it was necessary to obtain some figures by projecting the trends of existing estimates.

7. For the remainder of the services, the total population in England and Wales has been taken as the relevant population. Admittedly there are arguments in favour of treating many of these also on their merits, but in each instance some major imponderable has cropped up that has placed a practical limitation on further elaboration. Thus in the case of the police service or the administration of justice, the crime rate is especially high among youths aged 17-20 years and is increasing sharply. In the case of the fire service, there is a steady increase in the numbers of fires and victims are more likely to be very young children or older people. The use of highways or of public transport could each be related to specific age groups and sectors of the population. On the other hand, it is not at once clear how far allowance can be made for these factors, and beyond the fact that these services have been growing (or in the case of public transport, shrinking) there is no ready way of collating this growth with the growth of relevant sectors of the population.

(b) Moderate and Generous Projections

8. A second area of elaboration of the basic method concerns the projection of recent trends in expenditure per head to give moderate or generous forecasts. This has been done for each service (or set of services), but the approach has not always been as clear-cut as was the case with the fire service. In primary education, for instance, the recent trend is not one of an acceleration of growth, but rather a deceleration. In other words, the growth of expenditure per pupil is tailing off. This is shown in Diagram 3.

9. Diagram 4 shows two projections of this recent growth. The more generous is simply a linear projection over the period, while the more moderate follows the apparent curve and continues this trend. Fitting such a curve poses greater problems than with the fire service, since it is no longer simply a matter of compound (logarithmic) growth. In similar problems elsewhere however, it has proved possible to express time and not the other variable on a logarithmic scale¹. This method has been employed here: the curve in Diagram 4 is in fact one in which time has been expressed logarithmically.

10. The growth of expenditure per head in certain other services also shows idiosyncrasies that have been treated individually. The children's service and housing, for instance, showed negligible growth up to 1960 and then started to climb very steeply. In this instance the logarithmic curve was inadequate and a second linear projection based only on the years since 1960-61 was adopted for the generous projection on the assumption that a new set of trends suddenly came into being.

1. For example life-expectation is growing, but the rate of growth is decreasing with time. With time plotted on a logarithmic scale, this can be shown to become a straight line.

11. In considering the growth of expenditure on secondary education, there was a temptation to confine ourselves to the growth of total expenditure, which showed a more consistent trend than the figures for expenditure per head. This temptation was resisted on the grounds that the latter is a more reliable index of long-term growth even though it is subject to minor fluctuations as the peaks and the troughs of child population pass through the secondary schools. To take simply the total expenditure and to project this would be to assume that the future growth of secondary schools will be insensitive to increases in the child population.

12. Only in four services was the expenditure per head at 1966-67 prices found to have decreased steadily during the period 1956-57 to 1965-66. These were public lighting, passenger transport, water and harbours. It was found, however, that the projections for these services could be treated in precisely the same way as before; the projection for a linear decline was again more moderate than the projection for a logarithmic decline. Methodologically therefore, these services were treated no differently from the majority of others.

13. This left a number of groups of services whose revenue expenditure has tended to be somewhat erratic from year to year, leading to rather uncertain projections. These were miscellaneous education services, other miscellaneous rate-fund services, and general administration¹. It is also worth noting that it is not always easy to assess the truly relevant population for these services. Rather than undertake a series of uncertain projections based on dubious populations, it was decided to treat these in relation to other services. Thus miscellaneous educational expenditure was found to be a very constant proportion of all other expenditure on education (5.4%) and hence it was assumed that this would continue into the future. Similarly, other miscellaneous rate-fund services and general administration accounted for a decreasing proportion of total expenditure and it was assumed that this would continue to decrease.

(c) The personal social services

14. For the local authority health services, the potential client population for any year is taken as the total population + $(12 \times \text{the total number of births in that year}) + (3.5 \times \text{the number of children aged 0-4 in that year})$. This weighting appears to give very approximately a correct balance of population as against expenditure concerning these respective age groups in 1964-65. In other words, the expenditure on services closely associated with maternity and infants was inordinately large and those associated with young children quite large when compared with expenditure that might involve the population as a whole. It therefore became necessary to weight the corresponding age groups to allow for this².

1. Miscellaneous educational services include recreation, social and physical training, certain fees and maintenance allowances, and also nursery schools and special schools, which have been included in this category because financially they are small. Miscellaneous rate fund services include allotments, smallholdings, animal health, control of pests, registration of births, deaths and marriages, weights and measures, and other services of minor financial importance or applicable to only a few local authorities. General administration includes the registration of electors, council elections and the costs of rate collection in addition to other items of administration.

2. For the data from which this very approximate estimate has been compiled, see *Annual Report of the Ministry of Health for the year 1966*, Cmnd. 3226, table 56 p. 144, H.M.S.O., 1967.

The local authority welfare services

15. In 1964-65, 87% of the net expenditure of the services was for the aged and infirm. The remaining 13% was for the handicapped¹. The immediate temptation, therefore, is to weight the elderly sector of the population over, say, 70 years very heavily on the assumption that the handicapped come from all age groups and can be represented by a heavily underweighted measure of the total population. It should be kept in mind, however, that modern conditions serve to increase and not decrease the proportion of the population who are handicapped, just as they serve to increase the proportion who are elderly and infirm: with the help of modern medicine more delicate children survive; with fast ambulances and sophisticated surgery techniques road and industrial accidents maim more often than they kill. As one observer has claimed, better health services do not make a fitter race but a frailer one². Thus, bearing in mind that it is a similar set of trends that increase the proportions of the old and infirm and handicapped, it could be argued that the recent and projected population over, say, 70 years may be taken as a direct measure of the potential client population for these services.

16. Calculating the *potential client population* for the children's services is not as straightforward as the name of the service might suggest. Children up to the age of 17 years may come into care while those up to the age of 18 or very occasionally over may remain in care. But the extent to which different age groups are involved in different aspects of the service varies. A very high proportion of infants come into care for a short period in any one year while a quite high proportion of rather older children remain in care at any point in time, and it appears that preventive work (with children who might otherwise be likely to come into care) concerns all age groups equally. The following table illustrates how age groups vary in these respects.³

Table 15: Proportions of child population in care, by age group (1966)

Age (years)	Total child population in England and Wales (mid June 1966)	Children in care (31st March 1966)	Children coming into care (April 1965— March 1966)	Potential client population in 1966
	%	%	%	%
0-1	13	8	27	10
2-4	19	14	28	16
5-14	52	57	41	55
15-17+	16	21	4	19
Total	100 (13,151,000)	100 (69,157)	100 (54,471)	100 (15,753,000)

1. For the data from which this estimate has been made see *ibid* table 57 p. 141.

2. *Municipal Review*, May 1967 p. 262.

3. The figures are available annually in *Home Office: Children in Care in England and Wales*, Table 1. H.M.S.O.

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17. Thus, in so far as one is concerned with the administrative costs of children coming into care, the potential client population should be biased towards the numbers of younger children in the total population of children; in so far as one is concerned with the costs of keeping children in care, this figure should be biased towards the numbers of older children; and in so far as one is concerned with preventive work one might assume that it should be unbiased towards any age group. Expenditure on administration in the service is between 25% and 30% of the total, but this is, of course, divided between the administration of children coming into care, administration on behalf of those in care, and administration with respect to preventive work. In allowing for these factors it is assumed that the first and third each account for 10% of the costs while administration of those in care, a relatively easy task, accounts for the balance of administrative costs, that is to say, between 5% and 10% of the total.

18. To calculate the potential client population for each year, the age groups of the total child population in England and Wales have been weighted as follows: number of infants aged 0-1 + number of children aged 2-4 + $(1.25 \times \text{number of children aged } 5-14) + (1.42 \times \text{number of children aged } 15-17)$. This has been found to give a satisfactory balance between the age groups so far as the service is concerned.

19. In using these calculations to project to 1981, it has been assumed, of course, that the organisation of the personal social services remains in its present form. Any reorganisation following the report of the Seebohm Committee could lead to higher standards without necessarily increasing costs. At the same time, it should be noted that the immediate saving that would result from reorganisation would entail the administrative aspects of social work which form a minor part of total expenditure. To the extent that there may be shifts towards, for instance, family case work or more preventive work, these may not in themselves lead to reduced costs, though measured in non-economic terms they could enhance the efficiency of the service.

20. In the context of the growth of these services it is worth noting two estimates of growth in capital expenditure made by the Ministry of Health in their publications, *Health and Welfare* and *The Development of Community Care*¹. By approaching local health and welfare authorities for their plans for development over the next ten years, the Ministry aimed at encouraging them to look forward and plan. The Ministry aggregates the replies in a series of tables without comment. Comment, however, is needed on the total expenditure over the years which suggests a contraction rather than an expansion of the service. More money is apparently to be spent at once than in five years' time and more in five years' time than in ten years. The implication for these fast growing services is not that the local health and welfare authorities (in aggregate) were consciously planning to contract the development of their services at a rate of about 16% a year. Rather, it is that they were able to see and account for the immediate future more clearly than the distant future. The greater detail led to greater perception of expenditure and hence to more projected expenditure. As a source for projecting capital growth, then, these two official publications were not used in the present exercise.

¹ Cmnd. 1973 H.M.S.O. 1963, and Cmnd. 3022, H.M.S.O. 1966.

APPENDIX 7

REPRESENTATION AND COMMUNITY: AN APPRAISAL OF THREE SURVEYS

I INTRODUCTION

1. Three national surveys have been carried out to examine different aspects of local democracy in England and Wales. The Local Government Councillor Survey and The Local Government Elector Survey were undertaken for the Committee on Management of Local Government in 1966; and the Community Attitudes Survey was undertaken for the Royal Commission in 1967. In this appendix, certain themes raised in each of these surveys that have a particular relevance for the Commission are developed further.

2. The Local Government Councillor Survey indicated at the outset the extent to which local representatives are not a typical cross-section of the total population. They tend to be older, of higher occupational status and more often men than women. In so far as these characteristics are generally associated with ability and experience, a case may be made out for retaining some kind of representational bias. On the other hand, each sector of the population has a claim to adequate representation, and the extent of the bias has to be examined critically.

3. Clearly, there must be a considerable element of personal judgment in deciding what the precise bias—if any—should be. It is useful, therefore, to consider other voluntary public activities. If it can be shown that considerable sections of the adult population who are under-represented on councils are active in other comparable organisations, then this implies that there is potentially an under-tapped source. This is not to assert that local authorities could necessarily attract quite the same people as other voluntary organisations, but at least it will put the findings of the Local Government Councillor Survey into a better perspective.

4. This consideration of the representatives on local councils leads to a review of the two surveys of the electorate themselves in which the same basic demographic variables of age, sex, occupational status, etc., can be used to examine local involvement and attitudes towards local government. Once again the aim is to elaborate certain themes raised by these surveys rather than to go over the same ground as is covered in the reports. This has been made possible by deriving new tables from the data of the Local Government Elector Survey and by reference to the basic tables produced from the Community Attitudes Survey.

5. In this context, specific attention is paid to current social trends and their implication for the future of local government. Assuming, for instance, that there will be a general increase in the level of education nationally and in the geographic mobility of the population as a whole (see Appendices 5 and 6), is

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this likely to weaken community ties or change attitudes towards local government? If so, in what ways? Do the two surveys independently point in the same direction? As a final exercise, these surveys are examined to discern how far attitudes vary with size or type of authority.

6. This analysis of trends in social attitudes is of considerable relevance to the determination of a new pattern of local government and forms part of a wider assessment of the future context in which a new pattern of local government is likely to operate. Appendix 6 (Alternative Projections of Local Authority Expenditure) and Appendix 5 (Basic Demographic Trends and their Implications for the Future) also form part of this wider assessment.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNCILLORS AND OTHERS GIVING VOLUNTARY SERVICE

7. In reviewing the Local Government Councillor Survey, the Management Committee noted that elected members "do not reflect the community in terms of age, sex, occupation or education. Members tend to be drawn from the older sections of the population... Comparatively few women serve on local authorities... Employers and managers, and farmers and professional workers, occupy a larger proportion of seats in the councils than their proportion in the general adult male population. But the converse is true of skilled and unskilled manual workers... Members of local authorities are, on the average, better qualified than the electors, whether in terms of G.C.E. passes, teachers' certificates, professional qualifications or degrees... Members tend to be immobile; usually they have been born or have lived long in or near the areas which they represent"¹.

8. These findings have considerable relevance to the Royal Commission's terms of reference: that it should have regard to "the need to sustain a viable system of local democracy." For if it is found that some people are prepared to give voluntary service and leadership to the community, but not in local government, then not only are they under-represented on the councils, but also potential talent and service are lost. This could have consequences both for a viable system of local democracy and for the ultimate efficiency of local government. If, on the other hand, it is found that representation is essentially similar in other public bodies, then it may reasonably be concluded that this is in the nature of unpaid voluntary public service and not simply of local government. Such information is relevant to any proposals affecting the future structure of local government.

Sources for Comparison

9. For purposes of comparison between council members and others, a number of sources of information are available. On the one hand, there is the Local Government Councillor Survey. On the other hand, there are a number of studies on other forms of voluntary activity whose findings to a greater or lesser extent can be compared and contrasted with this survey.

1. Vol. 1, paragraphs 476-9. The Committee are referred to as the Management Committee throughout this section.

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10. Prominent among the latter is a survey on magistrates, carried out for the Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace, 1946-48. Its principal defect is that it was made 20 years ago and comparison with the councillors of 1964 may not be altogether a fair one. Nevertheless, even with this reservation, the scope and the size of this survey makes comparison with The Local Government Councillor particularly fruitful. It is not simply that both J.P.s and councillors are normally social leaders, but also that it is possible to compare characteristics in greater detail with county councillors and county magistrates on the one hand and county borough councillors and borough magistrates on the other¹.

11. Members of Regional Hospital Boards and of Hospital Management Committees are in a less prominent position, but they too are decision makers on behalf of the general public and give their services voluntarily. A study by Mary Stewart on "Unpaid Public Service" provides certain information about them².

12. A number of surveys have also been undertaken for, or made available to, the Committee on Voluntary Workers in the Social Services. These are particularly useful, since they may be expected to provide information on a rather different form of voluntary activity from those so far considered, which may attract a wider section of the total population³.

13. There are, in addition, a number of studies of membership and leadership of local voluntary associations which are not specifically concerned with public service but do indicate what other types of activity certain sections of the population are attracted to.

14. In making these comparisons, two factors should be borne in mind. The first is that the analysis depends on the comparability of data: in so far as tables are given for age structure or for occupational class, for instance, much depends on the extent to which the same criteria have been used in the different sources. The reservations over comparing magistrates in 1947 with councillors in 1964 have already been noted.

15. The second factor is that the processes of recruitment to positions of responsibility in these various forms of organisation are quite different and this can be expected to be reflected in the characteristics of those recruited. Thus, candidates for seats on local authorities are often nominated by political parties and then are elected by the adult population at large. In private associations, of course, officials and committee members are elected by the more active members of these associations. Magistrates and members of hospital committees and boards, on the other hand, are officially appointed after appropriate consultation and there is no democratic election.

1. These would tend to be boroughs with a population exceeding 65,000.

2. Fabian Occasional Paper No. 5, 1964. This study, incidentally, also considers local government councillors.

3. The Report of the Committee on Voluntary Workers in the Social Services has not yet been published and we are particularly grateful to the Chairman, Hon. Secretary and members of the Committee for making data available for the present analysis.

Local Government Councillors and Electors

16. The extent to which councillors are typical of the electorate as a whole has been well established by the two surveys undertaken for the Management Committee. The principal findings of these two surveys are summarised in the following table, which also examines a third group: the "future councillors". These future councillors were those members of the local government elector sample who claimed that they would or might stand for their councils.

Table 1: Characteristics of "future councillors", sitting councillors and electors

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>All electors</i>	<i>"Future councillors"</i>	<i>Sitting councillors</i>
<i>Consistencies</i>	%	%	%
Male	45	75	88
Married	74	81	87
Employers and professional workers	13	31	51
Higher or secondary education	28	46	54
Property owners	48	59	67
<i>Inconsistencies</i>			
Below 35 years old	42	64	19
Lived less than 16 years in council area	31	54	19
Not born in council area	62	74	63
Work over 30 hours a week	51	82	66

17. As the table shows, in certain respects the future councillors have tended to have characteristics somewhere between the electorate at large and the sitting councillors. These may be called the consistencies. In other respects, however, the characteristics tend to be more pronounced among future councillors than among either the electorate or the sitting councillors. These may be called the inconsistencies.

18. At least two of the inconsistencies can be readily explained. It is hardly surprising that "future councillors" should tend to be younger and by implication more aspiring than the other two groups. The finding that they tended to work longer hours could be explained by the fact that fewer were retired, fewer were housewives (than the electorate), and none were yet councillors. Indeed the fact that they had to work such long hours may well have deterred a large portion of them from actually becoming councillors¹.

19. The fact that "future councillors" tended to have lived less long in the area is less readily explained, but at least it is consistent with the fact that fewer

1. Table 185 of *The Local Government Elector* cites "lack of time" as the greatest single factor deterring electors from joining the council.

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were also born in the council area. It could be that mobility is a characteristic of a younger, more aspiring type of person who is potentially interested in council work. This is considered later.

20. Before exploring certain of these characteristics in greater detail, it is worth comparing the councillors as a group with members and leaders of a wide variety of voluntary organisations, including those that are not primarily concerned with some form of public service. The findings of a more limited study carried out by T. Bottomore in a small town give an indication of what one might expect¹. Table 2 has been compiled from this study and it shows the degree of comparison between: (a) councillors (from the Local Government Councillor survey), and (b) members of nine types of voluntary associations.

Table 2: Characteristics of councillors compared with members of voluntary associations

Type of organisation	Sex		Age			Occupational status of members			Occupational status of officials		
	Men	Women	15-44	45-64	65+	A	B	C	A	B	C
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(a) Municipal borough councils	882	122	25	57	18	42	48	10	see footnote 3		
Urban district councils			23	62	15	44	42	14			
(b) "Squirebridge" associations:											
Social clubs	88	12	60	28	12	9	12	79	60	12	28
Trade and professional	86	14	60	36	4	11	1	88	21	2	77
Service and ex-service	84	16	38	53	9	8	17	75	59	13	28
Sports and hobbies	79	21	58	37	5	15	21	64	68	17	15
Charitable and benevolent	69	31	53	39	8	29	21	50	78	9	13
Political	61	39	44	48	8	33	22	48	41	21	38
Cultural and educational	38	62	64	33	3	28	54	18	76	24	0
Churches	35	65	48	37	15	13	14	73	65	19	16
Church organisations	17	83	54	36	10	10	26	64	47	43	10

1. T. Bottomore *Social Stratification in Voluntary Organisations* in D. V. Glass's *Social Mobility in Britain*, 1954. The town, 'Squirebridge' has a population of only 15,000 people and is set in a predominantly agricultural area. It is therefore hardly likely to be representative of the country as a whole and for this reason comparison with councillors is limited here to those of municipal boroughs and urban districts in *The Local Government Councillor survey*, (with percentages adjusted to eliminate the "don't knows"). Altogether Bottomore studied 135 voluntary associations (excluding the council). Because he does not define his occupational statuses A, B, and C, it has been necessary to equate these with the Registrar General's three-fold grouping of the socio-economic groups in the 1961 Census, Housing Tables; Part III. This gave the following groupings; A=SEG's 1, 2, 3, 4 and 13; B=SEG's 5, 6, 8, 9, 12 and 14; C= SEG's 7, 10, 11, 15, 16 and 17.

2. *The Local Government Councillor* gives this ratio between the sexes for all councillors. There is no breakdown for types of local authority.

3. *The Local Government Councillor* does not give separate tables for the characteristics of (for instance) the chairman of committees. But it does state that: "There is . . . very little difference in the chance of councillors with different educational levels or incomes or in the different socio-economic groups being chairmen of committees" (p.49).

Appendix 7

21. Table 2 indicates a number of points. In the first place, all types of organisation tend to attract either predominantly men or predominantly women: councils are at one extreme but they are hardly unique. Secondly, the preponderance of middle-aged and older people is far higher in the councils than in any other type of association. And thirdly, the preponderance of occupational group A (managerial and professional) in the councils is higher than in any other type of association. A general pattern appears to emerge which is summarised in Table 3, below.

Table 3: Characteristics of members of different types of association

<i>Organisations</i>	<i>Male preponderance</i>	<i>Middle class (A and B) preponderance</i>
Churches and their associations	low	low
Cultural and educational	rather low	high
Political, charitable and benevolent	rather high	midway
Other "Squirebridge" associations	very high	low
Borough and urban district councils	very high	high

22. On the other hand, if members of local councils are viewed as managers and political leaders in the communities they represent, then it is fairer to compare them not with the whole membership of other local organisations, but with their officials and committee members. Bottomore does at least give the occupational composition of this group and, as Table 2 shows, all except the trade and professional associations are heavily biased in favour of occupational group A. So far as their ages and sex composition are concerned, there seems to be an implicit preponderance of males and of older people in the examples cited by Bottomore, although no actual figures are given. In a separate study of Banbury, however, Stacey does provide data which explicitly confirms this point¹. In other words, the pattern of local élites with a high male, high middle class, high middle-aged preponderance appears to be repeated in Bottomore's study.

23. Bottomore's study is of particular interest in that it draws attention not simply to voluntary work for the general good of the community, but to a far wider range of voluntary organisations that attract a wider range of people. In other words, with this type of information, one can begin to map out where the interests of people with different characteristics lie, and see the attractions of active voluntary work in a broader perspective.

24. But there is an additional relevance in this study. It has been found elsewhere that club members in general have a more active interest in the community and its government than non-club members. They therefore can be expected to represent a section of the population with a greater than average interest in local government. This point is discussed further in Section III.

1. M. Stacey, *Tradition and Change: a Study of Banbury*, O.U.P. 1960

Specific Characteristics

(a) Sex

25. In Table 2 various types of voluntary organisations have been arranged in order according to the predominance of men. The local councils are seen to be at the head of this list with over seven male councillors to every female. In Table 1 it was seen that the men who aspired to become councillors outnumbered the women by three to one.

26. The following table compares this ratio for councillors with members of other public bodies. These include members of Regional Hospital Boards (R.H.B.), of Hospital Management Committees (H.M.C.), and magistrates.¹

Table 4: Preponderance of men on public bodies—I

Councils				Public bodies					
	Total electorate (1961)	Council members	Mayors or chairmen	RHB	Members HMC (1947)	JP's	Chairmen County		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	RHB	HMC	County
Men	47	88	89	81	72	78	93	92	90
Women	53	12	11	19	28	22	7	8	10
Sample size		3,970	app.120	108	117	16,800	15	92	966

It will be seen that local councils have a higher proportion of men serving as members than regional hospital boards, hospital management committees or the magistrates' bench (in 1947). On the other hand, there is a slightly lower proportion of men serving as mayors or as council chairmen than as chairmen of these other public bodies. But in each case, there is still an overwhelming preponderance of men: broadly speaking, neither democratic election nor appointment appears to have produced anything approaching an equal balance of representation between the sexes. The fact that the ratio is approximately constant between members and chairmen of councils could be due to the circulation of this office, as compared with a semi-permanent appointment among these other bodies, which could tend to restrict the chances of women yet further.

27. A comparison between town and county reveals very little. As Table 5 shows, women are equally represented on the county and county borough councils, although among magistrates they were less well represented in the counties than in the boroughs².

1. The following sources have been used: *The Local Government Councillor* (pages 15 and 48); *Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace*, appendix 4; Mary Stewart (op. cit.). As Mary Stewart does not include the sex ratio among H.M.C. members (although she has a sample of 104), it has been necessary to estimate a ratio using a separate source. For this purpose, 6 H.M.C.s in the Birmingham R.H.B. in 1966 have been taken.

2. *The Local Government Councillor* does not in fact give this ratio for the different types of authority and it has been necessary to obtain the figures from *The Municipal Year Book 1967* using every third authority in the survey sample.

Table 5: Preponderance of men on public bodies—II

	Councillors (1964)		Magistrates (1947)	
	Counties	County boroughs	Counties	Boroughs
Men	% 86	% 86	% 79	% 76
Women	14	14	21	24

28. Turning to voluntary workers in the social services, a considerable variation in the balance between the two sexes is revealed by different surveys. There tends, however, to be a preponderance of women, and possibly one of the most comprehensive of these surveys, intended to cover all voluntary workers in the City of Manchester, indicated nearly three women to every man. Clearly, this voluntary activity attracts a different section of the population.

(b) Age

29. In Tables 1 and 2, councillors were seen to be substantially older than members of voluntary organisations or, for that matter, than the population at large. They compare with members of other public bodies in the following manner:

Table 6: Preponderance of older persons on public bodies—I

Age	All electors over 25 years of age	Councils		Public Bodies				
		Council members ¹	Mayors or L.A. chairmen	Members RHB HMC		Chairmen RHB HMC		County benches
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below 45	45	19	12	2	4	0	2	0
45-59	31	45	46	38	47	20	27	13
60 years and over	24	36	42	60	49	80	71	87

30. Table 6 shows that while there is a bias towards middle-aged and elderly councillors, it is comparatively moderate when compared with the excessive bias among members, and especially chairmen, of the other public bodies. The system of appointment among the latter may partly be responsible for this: it is not simply that it may favour the appointment of older men in the first place, but also that it may serve to retain their services for a much longer average period. It is perhaps worth noting that, apart from members of hospital committees and boards, there is no compulsory retiring age for the other bodies considered, and

1. *The Local Government Councillor* unfortunately does not give an analysis with age in a form that is readily comparable with Mary Stewart's data on R.H.B.s and H.M.C.s. It has therefore been necessary to interpolate the data in order to arrive at these figures for councillors. At most, the error would be no more than 1% in either direction and this would not affect the gist of the tables.

2. It must be emphasized that this is based on a sample of only 10 Chairmen of RHBs whose names appear in *Who's Who 1966*. Mary Stewart does not include their ages in her tables.

that the aldermanic system is a major feature of local government which at present serves to increase the average age of council members¹.

31. Table 7 shows that the bias towards older people was approximately the same among magistrates in both town and county (in 1947), but among councillors, on the other hand, it is substantially greater in the county councils and substantially less pronounced in the county boroughs. In other words, the age bias in county councils is closer to that among other public bodies generally.

Table 7: Preponderance of older persons on public bodies—II

Age	Councillors		Magistrates	
	Counties	County boroughs	Counties	Boroughs
	%	%	%	%
Below 45	9	26	5	4
45-59	37	46	33	36
60 years and over	54	28	62	60

(c) Occupational Status

32. Unlike sex or age, occupational status is not a characteristic that readily lends itself to tabulation, because of the many ways in which different occupations can be classified. Direct comparison between public bodies in this respect depends on the extent to which the various surveys have adopted the same system of classification. In the following table the comparison between magistrates, councillors and the electorate has only been made possible by reducing the more recent data (i.e. those of the councillors in 1964 and of economically active males in 1961) to comparable—if not quite identical—categories used in the earlier survey on magistrates².

1. See *The Local Government Councillor* Table 1.46. Members of hospital committees and boards have to be re-appointed (or rejected) every three years and they cannot be re-appointed after reaching the age of 80. At the time that the survey of magistrates was carried out, there was no upper limit to their age. Today, they are placed on a Supplemental List on reaching the age of 75 (in the process of being reduced to 70) and their duties are confined to those of a more formal nature.

2. To all intents and purposes, it can be assumed that the occupational structure in the six groups has not altered fundamentally since 1947 for the total electorate. Certainly, any slight changes would not affect the general pattern of Table 8. In order to construct this table, it was necessary to make the following assumptions: major employers = S.E.G. 1 + 2($\times \frac{1}{2}$); professionals = 3 + 4; minor employers and own account workers = 2($\times \frac{1}{2}$) + 12 + 13 + 14; salaried workers = 5 + 6 + 8($\times \frac{1}{2}$); wage earners = 7 + 8($\times \frac{1}{2}$) + 9 + 10 + 11 + 15 + 16; Others = 17. In order to make the comparison as close as possible the following equivalents were used: town electors = economically active males in urban areas over 100,000 people; county electors = all other economically active males; town councillors = county borough councillors only; county councillors = county councillors only; town J.P.s = male J.P.s on borough benches; county J.P.s = male J.P.s on county benches.

Table 8: Preponderance of upper occupational groups on public bodies

<i>Occupational status</i>	<i>Towns</i>			<i>Counties</i>		
	<i>Electors</i>	<i>Councillors</i>	<i>JPs</i>	<i>Electors</i>	<i>Councillors</i>	<i>JPs</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Major employers	8	22	31	6	21	30
Professionals	4	6	19	4	9	22
Minor employers and own account workers	6	10	13	10	24	17
Salaried workers	20	30	16	16	18	13
Wage earners	60	27	18	62	19	14
Others	2	5	3	2	9	4

33. Table 8 shows quite clearly that the upper occupational bias is more accentuated in the county areas and among the magistrates. The only exceptions to this general pattern are the comparatively large representation on councils of salaried workers in the towns and of minor employers and own account workers in the county areas¹.

34. Mary Stewart's survey of the hospital management committees and regional boards does not attempt a tabular analysis of occupational status, but confines itself to citing examples of the extent to which members and especially chairmen are upper and upper-middle class with high salaries and aristocratic connections. Her remarks seem to imply, if anything, an even greater imbalance in class representation than among the magistrates.

35. The occupational groups used for the analysis of voluntary workers in the social services in the various surveys are not directly comparable with those used for councillors. It is clear, however, that once again there is a marked tendency for these voluntary workers to be associated with professional and managerial groups, and for wage-earning groups to be under-represented.

(d) Geographic Mobility

36. In paragraph 19 it was noted that aspiring councillors tend to have lived less long in their local authority area than the electorate as a whole, while councillors tend to have lived there altogether longer. There is no information on the length of residence in their areas of members of other public bodies, but more can still be said on this general topic.

37. A number of studies in this country have recently noted the extent to which managerial and professional men are more mobile than those in other forms of employment. This is borne out by the 1961 population census, which indicated that migrations of 15 or more miles are almost twice as frequent among

1. These are due to the intermediate non-manual workers (S.E.G.5) in the towns and to the manager or employer farmers (S.E.G. 13) in the counties, who are over represented three times and eight times respectively.

the managerial and professional groups as among other occupational groups. The term *spiralists* has been coined to refer to these men, whose social and geographic mobility is derived from their upward movement through bureaucratic hierarchies and outward movement through the communities to which their organisations send them¹.

38. Table 1 gives the impression that there is a strong element of "spiralism" among the "future councillors". As compared with the electorate there is a high proportion who are employers and professional workers, who are young, who were not born in their present council area and have lived there for less than 16 years. A rather larger proportion of sitting councillors are, it is true, managers, employers and professional workers; but the fact that they are usually older and have lived in their council areas longer indicates a different type of person from the more mobile "spiralists".

Degree of Participation

39. The Local Government Councillor notes the extent to which councillors representing different sectors of the community devote their time to council work in a narrower and a broader sense. In the following table the average number of hours they spend per month as councillors is compared with the average number of attendances at court by magistrates in 1947².

Table 9: Degree of participation for councillors and magistrates

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Councillors: hours per average working month</i>	<i>Magistrates: court attendances in one year</i>
<i>Age</i> Below 45	47.2	12.8
45-59	53.1	15.6
60 and over	54.2	18.7
<i>Sex</i> Men	51.7	17.0
Women	56.4	18.5
<i>Occupational status</i>		
Employers and professionals (large establishments)	48.1	17.0
Employers (small establishments)	42.6	16.8
Non manual and own account	56.9	18.2
Manual	68.2	18.6
<i>Area</i>		
Counties	67.9	15.2
Towns (C.Bs. only)	76.6	22.3

1. W. Watson, *Social Mobility and Social Class in Industrial Communities* in "Closed Systems and Open Minds", 1964. Stacey (op. cit. p. 35) also noted that immigrants to Banbury tended to have a higher social ranking than the other inhabitants.

2. A certain degree of interpolation has been necessary to construct this table, especially with regard to age, magistrates' occupation and average number of court attendances.

Appendix 7

40. It is at once evident from Table 9 that the degree of participation within each category is similar. It is lowest among the youngest age group, the men, the smaller employers and in the counties. In other words the close similarities in the characteristics of councillors and magistrates, noted in the previous sections, extend also to the time they devote to their public duties.

41. Two further points may be noted. Two of the under-represented sectors of the population—the women and the lower occupational groups—spend more time as councillors or magistrates than the remainder. On the other hand, a third under-represented group—the younger members—spend less time.

42. Secondly, it is not altogether justifiable to compare the time spent by county borough councillors with that spent by county councillors. As members of an all-purpose authority, the former may have a wider range of responsibilities; on the other hand, as residents of a dispersed authority the latter would tend to have more travelling to do.

43. Mary Stewart considers this general problem in her study and notes that county borough councillors work 4.4 hours for every hour of travel while county councillors work only 2.3 hours for every hour of travel. Members of hospital committees and boards scattered over a region tended to be in a similar position to county councillors and the preference for these bodies (and for county councils) to meet in the daytime rather than the evening was a major deterrent for those who were otherwise fully employed. Thus, if figures were available, one might expect hospital committees and boards to resemble the councils and the magistrates in the extent to which younger persons and men were less able to devote time to public service.

Conclusion

44. In this section certain characteristics of councillors, revealed by the Management Committee's survey, have been compared with what is known of members of other voluntary public bodies and private associations. One of the immediate drawbacks to such an exercise has been that material available from other sources is not as comprehensive, as thorough or as recent as that on the councillors.

45. While it was found that councillors contrasted in a number of respects with members of voluntary associations—and one must now add to these the voluntary workers in the social services—they had much in common with the leaders of these associations and with members serving on the other public bodies. In a number of ways, however, local councils were more representative than the other local bodies examined, in the sense that they tended to have higher proportions of women, younger people and those in the lower occupational groups. The chairmen and mayors of local authorities were also drawn from a wider social spectrum than the leaders of other local bodies examined. The position may be summarised as follows:—

<i>Section of population</i>	<i>Representative character of councils as compared with other bodies</i>	
	<i>Members</i>	<i>Chairmen and Mayors</i>
Women	worse	better
Younger people	better	better
Lower occupational groups	better	better

There was a difference, however, between county and county borough councils in the degree of representativeness. The former tended to be more like other local bodies than the latter in respect of younger people and those in the lower occupational groups.

III. POSSIBLE PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE FUTURE

46. The Committee on Management published the findings of the Local Government Elector Survey as Volume 3 of their report. A further analysis of the survey data has been made for the Royal Commission. This section outlines some of the findings that have emerged, comparing them with relevant aspects of the Commission's Community Attitudes Survey.

47. The broad aim of this section of the appendix is to see how far it is possible to learn anything about likely future public attitudes to local government when a new system of local government would be in operation. This forms part of the wider appraisal of the future that is embraced in Appendix 5 on demographic trends and Appendix 6 on local authority expenditure.

The Further Analysis of the Local Government Elector Survey

48. One of the problems posed by a survey of this kind is the sheer quantity of data: 67 principal questions, supplemented by up to 100 subsidiary questions, could each be analysed by various characteristics of the respondent (his age, education, etc.) or of the area in which he lived. The 208 tables of the survey report represented only a fraction of what was possible. The aim of the present exercise has been to avoid extending the scope of the survey indiscriminately and to consolidate certain aspects by examining them in a different way.

49. In order to do this, four scales have been devised, and every respondent in the survey has been given a score on each scale, based on his answers to certain questions. Three of these scales are derived from a factor analysis which indicated that answers to these particular questions tended to be associated in three distinct clusters, each of which was identified with some common theme. The three themes covered by the scales were *confidence in local councillors*, *satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government*, and *involvement in organisations*. A fourth aspect of popular attitudes to local government, namely, *actual knowledge of local government* was also examined. Here a scale was constructed without recourse to factor analysis. The questions of the survey from which these indices were derived, and the scoring, are shown in Table 10.

Table 10: The four indices derived from The Local Government Elector Survey

A. <i>Confidence in local councillors</i>		
Q50a—Respondent agrees that people become councillors because they have the good of the community at heart	1 point	
Q50b—disagrees that people become councillors because they want higher position at work	1 point	
Q50c—disagrees that people become councillors to make money for themselves	1 point	
Q50d—agrees that people become councillors because they have a sense of duty to their fellow citizens	1 point	
Q50e—disagrees that people become councillors because they want people to look up to them	1 point	
	<hr/>	5 points
B. <i>Satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government</i>		
Q39c—Respondent feels he knows enough about the council to use his vote to best advantage	1 point	
Q38—feels he knows enough about the council for his own needs	1 point	
Q39b—feels he knows enough about the council to know if they are doing the right things	1 point	
Q39a—feels he knows enough about the council to make use of their services	1 point	
Q27—feels that the council run things well	1 point	
Q13—claims that he does something to help people in his local authority area	1 point	
	<hr/>	6 points
C. <i>Involvement in local organisations</i>		
Q6—Respondent belongs to at least one organisation	1 point	
Q7—has attended at least one meeting in the last six months	1 point	
Q8—takes an active part in running some organisation	1 point	
Q13—does something to help people in his local authority area	1 point	
	<hr/>	4 points
D. <i>Knowledge of local government</i>		
Q16—Respondent can mention one, two, or three local government services	3 points	
Q44—knows that the clerk is not elected	1 point	
Q44—knows that the housing manager is not elected	1 point	
Q47—correctly names his mayor/district chairman	1 point	
Q30—knows when the next council meeting will be	1 point	
Q32—knows where town hall is	1 point	
Q33—has heard news of council during last month	1 point	
Q52—knows that councillors are not paid salary	1 point	
	<hr/>	10 points

50. It is useful to note how far these indices are related, that is, the extent to which people who scored well on one scale tended to score well (or badly) on others. Table 11 indicates the degree of correlation and it may be noted that all the indices are positively related in some degree. On the other hand, they tend to be closer to 0.00 (no correlation) than to 1.00 (complete correlation), and one can reasonably deduce from this that the indices concern rather different aspects of local attitudes and deserve separate attention. Even the satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government appears to be only mildly correlated with actual knowledge of local government, while confidence in local councillors appears to be the most independent of the four.

Table 11: Correlation coefficients between the four indices

	<i>Confidence</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>Involvement</i>
Knowledge	+0.19	+0.28	+0.35
Involvement	+0.11	+0.27	
Satisfaction	+0.14		

51. Table 12 indicates the distribution of scores on each scale for the whole sample.

Table 12: Distribution of scores

<i>Scale score</i>	<i>Confidence in local councillors</i>	<i>Satisfaction with knowledge of local government</i>	<i>Involvement in organisations</i>	<i>Knowledge of local government</i>
	%	%	%	%
0	8	3	29	2
1	11	18	26	6
2	16	24	20	8
3	15	19	14	9
4	22	14	11	12
5	27	15		14
6		7		14
7				15
8				11
9				6
10				2
Mean score	3.12	2.98	1.52	5.24
Standard deviation	1.63	1.60	1.32	2.41

Appendix 7

52. As an initial step it is useful to examine how different categories of people score on these scales. The most convenient way is to calculate for each category the proportion who scored above a certain minimum on each scale (the *pass mark*). As far as possible the pass mark was chosen so as to have equal numbers of "passes" and "failures" in the total sample. Table 13 shows some of the demographic variables used in the Local Government Elector Survey, and the figures represent the percentage of each category who scored above the pass mark.

Table 13: Proportion of each category of respondent who scored above the "pass mark"

Categories	Sample base	Index and pass mark			
		Confidence	Satisfaction	Involvement	Knowledge
		4/5	3/6	3/4	6/10
Sex: Men	989	%	%	%	%
Women	1,195	50	61	53	58
		48	51	39	40
Age: 21-34 years	491	50	37	43	43
35-44 years	438	58	52	51	55
45-54 years	473	51	58	50	53
55-64 years	412	47	68	46	48
65+ years	351	40	69	36	42
Education: Higher	130	49	59	66	76
Secondary	485	55	60	55	67
Lower	1,561	47	54	41	40
Occupational status:					
1. Managers/professionals (large establishments)	91	55	81	64	85
2. Managers/farmers (small establishments)	192	47	63	50	66
3. Intermediate non-manual	170	58	60	49	63
4. Junior non-manual	633	50	50	44	49
5. Skilled manual	398	48	51	52	47
6. Semi-and unskilled manual	526	45	51	39	33
Residence in local authority area					
0-5 years	347	48	35	41	46
6-15 years	366	52	47	49	62
16-25 years	326	52	47	45	49
26+ years	1,100	49	57	45	49
Organisational activity					
Member of none	837	44	51	0	34
An inactive member	1,030	50	53	65	50
An active member	317	59	75	100	81
Total sample	2,184	49	55	45	48

53. It is evident from these tables that the four indices tend to vary with sex, education, occupational status and organisational activity; that the trends are less consistent when examined against age and length of residence; that the index of confidence in local councillors is the least correlated with the various demographic variables; and that the index of satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government is the most consistently correlated.

54. There remains, however, a degree of overlap between the demographic variables which could account for some of these trends. Table 14 shows how the total sample was distributed between pairs of categories. The table shows quite clearly the extent to which there was a marked association between occupational group and sex, and length of residence and education; between education and length of residence and age; and between age and length of residence. There is also a less marked, though still significant, association between sex and education, and age¹.

Table 14: Distribution of the total sample between pairs of categories (percentages of total sample)

	Sex		Length of residence (years)		Age			Education		
	M	F	0-15	16+	21-44	45-54	55+	Higher	Secondary	Lower
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Occupational status										
Managerial/professional (1 and 2)	10	3	6	6	5	3	5	2	5	6
Non-manual (3 and 4)	8	29	13	22	16	9	11	3	11	22
Manual (5 and 6)	26	16	11	30	20	9	14	*	4	38
Education										
Higher	3	3	3	3	3	1	1			
Secondary	10	13	11	10	11	5	5			
Lower	32	39	18	52	28	15	28			
Age										
21-34 years	11	11	11	11						
35-44 years	10	10								
45-54 years	9	13	22	54						
55-64 years	8	10								
65+ years	6	11								

*less than 0.5%.

55. The question that poses itself is therefore: are any of these variables more fundamental in determining attitudes than others? Could it be, for instance that those with longer residence in an area appear to be more satisfied with their knowledge of local government simply because they are also older? Or is length of residence a more fundamental characteristic in this respect? Or is education a more fundamental variable than occupational status, with which it is closely associated?

1. Because of the limited size of the total sample, it has been necessary to condense the variables as shown in the table. This at least gives adequate numbers for further analysis. These tables do not include the residual categories, such as those whose age is unknown or who have never had any employment; hence the figures in each table add up to less than 100%.

Table 15: Proportion of "passes" for different pairs of categories

	Length of residence (years)		Age			Sex		Education		
	0-15	16+	21-44	45-54	55+	M	F	Higher	Secondary	Lower
<i>Confidence in local councillors</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Occupational status:										
Managerial/professional	46	53	50	56	44	49	52	51	45	53
Non-manual	56	51	57	51	45	62	49	54	62	47
Manual	46	47	50	47	40	48	44	—	54	45
Education:										
Higher	54	45	56	41	52	44	56			
Secondary	55	56	62	50	47	54	56			
Lower	45	48	49	51	43	50	45			
Age:										
21-34	51	50								
35+	49	49								
<i>Satisfaction Concerning Knowledge of Local Government</i>										
Occupational status:										
Managerial/professional	63	74	59	73	77	72	55	51	47	70
Non-manual	48	55	42	63	59	66	49	38	37	50
Manual	39	56	41	46	68	54	46	—	31	50
Education:										
Higher	47	73	38	50	40	64	56			
Secondary	55	66	29	45	56	66	56			
Lower	45	57	23	53	43	59	49			
Age:										
21-34	35	40								
35+	56	63								
<i>Involvement in Local Organisations</i>										
Occupational status:										
Managerial/professional	57	51	59	63	44	57	43	62	62	45
Non-manual	43	46	44	49	43	56	42	67	52	38
Manual	41	45	46	48	41	50	35	—	51	44
Education:										
Higher	62	68	66	75	56	64	67			
Secondary	54	55	53	62	51	59	51			
Lower	37	42	42	42	39	50	33			
Age:										
21-34	43	42								
35+	47	46								
<i>Knowledge of Local Government</i>										
Occupational status:										
Managerial/professional	70	74	81	71	63	76	55	78	83	60
Non-manual	49	53	53	58	44	71	46	77	64	42
Manual	35	41	37	41	41	48	26	—	55	37
Education:										
Higher	72	80	75	81	72	80	73			
Secondary	62	72	65	69	69	77	58			
Lower	35	42	39	44	39	51	31			
Age:										
21-34	41	46								
35+	51	49								

56. In order to explore this fully, a further set of figures, (Table 15) was drawn up, again taking these categories in pairs and examining the extent to which one category tended to be more closely associated with each index than the other. Thus, to illustrate by an example: of the respondents who had lived in their local authority area for 15 years or less, 54% of those with a higher education, 55% of those with a secondary education and 45% of those with a lower education, are seen to have a reasonable confidence in local councillors in that they scored at least four out of a possible five points.

Interpretation of the Results

57. As Table 15 indicates, the demographic variables considered vary in importance from one index to another. The following general conclusions can be drawn for each index from these tables: —

A. *Confidence in local councillors*

The analysis in Table 15 hardly sheds any further light on this index beyond what was already evident from Table 13. Taking Tables 11, 13 and 15 in conjunction suggests that this is the least closely associated index either with the other indices or with the demographic variables.

B. *Satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government*

Table 11 indicates that this index is only moderately correlated with *actual* knowledge of local government (index D) or with involvement in local organisations (index C). From Table 15, however, it is evident that it is more clearly associated with age and length of residence in the local authority area than any other index.

The order of importance of the demographic variables that emerges from Table 15 appears to be as follows:—

- (a) sex (men); age; occupational status
- (b) education; length of residence

C. *Involvement in organisations*

Table 11 indicates that this index is most closely associated with knowledge of local government (index D). Because it is based on essentially the same data as the demographic variable *organisational activity*, the latter has not been included in Tables 14 and 15.

The order of importance of the demographic variables that emerges from Table 15 appears to be broadly as follows:—

- (a) education
- (b) sex (men)
- (c) occupational status; age (45–54 years)
- (d) length of residence

D. *Knowledge of local government*

The order of importance of the demographic variables that emerges from Table 15 appears to be as follows:—

- (a) education; occupational status
- (b) sex (men)
- (c) age (over 35 years)
- (d) length of residence

58. In order to give these findings a wider interpretation, comparison is made with relevant parts of the Royal Commission's Community Attitudes Survey.

59. *Knowledge of local government.* It is useful here to note the questions comprising this index listed in Table 10. It will be seen that these questions concern knowledge in a very pervasive sense. This contrasts with the "knowledge of local government" index used in the Community Attitudes Survey which is entirely restricted to identifying the agencies responsible for running nine services. The former is to a far greater extent a measure of general and local knowledge concerning local government; the latter is restricted to knowledge concerning public services. Because of this difference it is useful to compare these indices from the two surveys, using the same form as in Table 13 for easier comparison.

Table 16: Knowledge of local government—a comparison of surveys

<i>Demographic variables</i>	<i>Local Government Elector Survey (general and local knowledge of local government)</i>	<i>Community Attitudes Survey (knowledge of public services)</i>
Sex:	%	%
Male	58	59
Female	40	42
Age:		
21-34	43	52
35-44	55	56
45-54	53	54
55-64	48	50
65+	42	37
Occupational status:		
1	85	72
2	66	51
3+4	52	48
5	47	57
6	33	47
Education:		
Higher	76	57
Secondary	67	52
Lower	40	49
Total sample	48	50
"Pass mark"	6/10	6/9

60. It will be seen that the clearly defined trends with regard to education and occupational status in the first column are not repeated in the second. Altogether the index for knowledge used in the earlier (Local Government Elector) survey would seem to be the more sensitive to analysis and on the whole the questions on which it is based may rely more on an interest in as well as a knowledge of local government. Because it is broadly based and not confined to one aspect of knowledge, the category "knowledge of local government" used in the present exercise is taken as a more satisfactory indicator of interest in and concern for local government than any of the other three indices considered.

61. *Involvement in local organisations.* In considering membership of organisations it is more useful to regard the two surveys as complementing one another than to compare them directly. The Local Government Elector Survey distinguished between active and inactive members of organisations, while the Community Attitudes Survey distinguished between the more local organisations (those within the neighbourhood, or home area) and those further

afield. So far as the attitudes revealed in the respective surveys are concerned, it is useful to take "knowledge of local government" (which has already been linked with interest) from the earlier survey and to compare it with the two indices used in the more recent survey. These indices are *local social attachment* and *interest in local and public affairs*; in each case a pass mark of 2/5 has been taken for ready comparison between surveys. It can be seen from Table 17 that the close association between knowledge of local government and organisational activity shown in the earlier survey is reflected in a similar trend between interest in local and public affairs and membership of organisations within the home area in the second survey. This is less striking where one considers organisations further afield: local social attachment appears to have an inverse relationship between those who are members of local organisations and those who are members of more distant ones.

Table 17: Involvement in organisations: a comparison of surveys

Local Government Elector Survey		Community Attitudes Survey				
Q6-8 degree of involvement	Knowledge of (interest in) local government	Q17 A member of:	Local social attachment		Interest in public and local affairs	
			organisations in home area	organisations outside home area	organisations in home area	organisations outside home area
An active member	81	2 or more organ- isations	62	36	75	57
An inactive member	50	1 organisation	48	43	60	49
A member of none	34	No organisation	41	50	38	45
Total sample	48	Total sample	46		49	
"Pass mark"	6/10	"Pass mark"	2/5		2/5	

62. It may be noted that evidence confirming that active members of organisations tend to be more closely associated with local affairs exists in a variety of analyses. The Local Government Elector Survey itself noted that those who belonged to two or more organisations tended to have a relatively high sense of community responsibility and were more likely to have considered becoming councillors than the electorate at large (Table 203). In the Local Government Councillor Survey, it was found that a large proportion of councillors had first been brought into touch with council work through organisations connected with work, politics, education, training, welfare and public bodies (Table 2.9). In a study undertaken in Portsmouth, there was found to be more active interest in voluntary social work among club members than among the population at large¹. And in another study, it was found that in Stretford 82% of club members voted in an election as contrasted with only 62% of non-members².

63. In this context it is also useful to re-examine the index of confidence in local councillors which was seen in Table 13 to be only marginally associated with any of the demographic variables. This was, however, less true of organisational activity where there appeared to be a certain association with trust. This is reinforced in Table 18, below, where not only those scoring above the pass mark are considered, but also the two extremes: those expressing no

1. Evidence submitted to the Aves Committee on Voluntary Workers in the Social Services.
2. A. H. Birch and P. Campbell: *Voting Behaviour in a Lancashire Constituency*, J. of Soc. 1960.

confidence in the councillors (0/5) as against those expressing complete confidence (5/5). Table 18 shows quite clearly that the trend is consistent and that members of organisations, especially more active members, have not only a greater interest in local government but also a greater confidence in local councillors.

Table 18: Involvement in organisations and confidence in local councillors

<i>Degree of involvement</i>	<i>Degree of confidence</i>		
	<i>No confidence</i>	<i>Above the "pass mark"</i>	<i>Complete confidence</i>
	%	%	%
An active member	4	59	33
An inactive member	7	50	28
A member of none	12	44	23
Total sample	8	49	27
Score	0/5	4/5 or over	5/5

64. *Education.* Among the various demographic variables considered here, education has a special significance in any assessment of likely attitudes towards local government in the future. Present trends and policies make it almost inevitable that more and more people will receive a secondary and higher education. Table 13 makes it evident that education is an especially relevant variable when one considers involvement in local organisations or knowledge of local government. The question is whether it is a prime variable or whether it seems significant because it happens to coincide with the other more significant variables such as occupational status or age. Table 14 certainly indicates that it is in no way secondary to these other variables, and one is led to infer that the increase of education in our society in future will tend to increase the involvement in organisations and knowledge of local government among the electorate.

65. There is one further feature worth noting. A cursory glance at Table 15 may suggest that both sex (men) and education are associated with involvement in organisations and knowledge of local government. It does not at once follow, then, that in paragraph 57, sex should have been regarded as essentially a secondary variable. On closer scrutiny, however, it can be seen that for these two indices, the gap between the sexes closes as education increases. In other words, men and women with a higher education appear to be closer to one another than men and women with a lower education. With regard to these two indices, therefore, more education in future can be expected to narrow the present gap between the sexes. Here, it is worth noting that in a cross-cultural

study of political attitudes¹, Almond and Verba have claimed that education is a more significant variable than any other considered and that those with higher educational backgrounds tend to have more in common between the five nations considered than those with less education among whom national differences tend to be more pronounced. The present exercise has led to similar findings: education also appears to be a significant variable and to bridge the gap between social differences, in this case sex difference rather than cultural difference.

66. *Length of Residence.* The significance of length of residence in an area is a topic that is explored more fully in the next section in the context of a person's home area and local community. At this point, it is sufficient to note that there is no obvious indication in Table 15 that length of residence in a local authority area is of primary importance for any of the attitudes considered. Even where one considers satisfaction concerning knowledge of local government, it appears to be age and not length of residence as such that is the governing factor. On the other hand, in view of the importance of this particular variable, it is also necessary to note that the two-fold division in the table is somewhat crude and could conceal a very real trend.

67. Because length of residence may be very relevant to local community attitudes, and in the last resort to local democracy, it is examined from a different point of view in the next section, which is entirely devoted to a further consideration of the Community Attitudes Survey. This also provides an opportunity to re-examine some of the other social variables we have considered.

IV. THE COMMUNITY ATTITUDES SURVEY AND THE CONCEPT OF THE "HOME AREA"

68. The community attitudes survey was devised, among other things, to look more closely at the concept of local community and in particular to explore the nature of local ties which people feel to the area in which they live.

69. In the survey at the beginning of the questionnaire, each respondent was asked if there was an area around his home which he felt he belonged to, and then he was asked to identify its size. Thus each person could be classified in one of three ways: A. those who felt they did not belong to such an area, or *home area*, as it was called; B. those who felt they belonged to a relatively large home area; and C. those who felt they belonged to a relatively small home area. For purposes of analysis here, a "large" home area is defined as an area which in effect would be more than a ten minute walk around the home. Apart from the fact that this happens to be a convenient size for analysing the survey data, it is also generally accepted as a "pram-pushing" distance by planners who wish to avoid developing housing estates too far from the local shopping centre; to have to walk for up to ten minutes from one's home is not regarded as a hardship by most people. A "small" home area would be less than a ten-minute walk².

1. Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture*, 1963, p. 383. The five nations were U.S.A., Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico.

2. Less than a ten-minute walk was inferred from a home area comprising a street or group of streets in the urban areas and less than a parish in the rural areas.

70. By considering social categories rather than individual respondents (e.g. those belonging to an age group or to an occupational group), it is possible to examine these three attitudes (i.e. A, B and C above) in terms of the extent to which as a category they tended to deny the existence of a home area, and the extent to which those who did in fact acknowledge a home area preferred a "large" to a "small" one. These two attitudes are referred to here as *local isolation* and *relative size of the home area* respectively, and it is useful to note that the two ratios are logically unrelated: if one of them were varied in some way, it would not be possible to predict what effect this might have on the other. It is also worth noting that a supplementary exercise has shown that had some other definition been taken to separate "large" from "small" home areas, essentially similar results would have been obtained; and hence one is justified in regarding the second ratio as a measure of the *relative size* of the home area in every sense.

71. In Diagram 1 (at end of this appendix), these two ratios are expressed graphically for three variables, with local isolation represented vertically and relative size of the home area represented horizontally on a logarithmic scale. The significance of using a logarithmic scale in this instance is that it does not distort the more extreme categories by appearing to exaggerate the extent to which large home areas are preferred by some categories, or minimise the extent to which small home areas are preferred by others. The variables considered are the *length of residence in the home area* (0-3 years, 3-10 years, 10-20 years, over 20 years, and born there); *age* (21-34 years, 35-44 years, 45-54 years, 55-64 years, and over 65 years); and *social class*, estimated from the most recent type of employment for each respondent (I—large employers and professionals; II—small employers and farmers; III—intermediate non-manual workers; IV—skilled manual workers; V—all other manual workers).

72. Diagram 2 (at end of this appendix) is an elaboration of Diagram 1, in which a large number of variables (29 instead of just three) have been considered. Whereas in Diagram 1 the three variables gave altogether 15 categories or points, in Diagram 2 the 29 variables give altogether 100 categories or points. Because these diagrams relate to groups of people rather than to individuals, it is important to note that each respondent is related in some way to *each* variable considered. Thus a man who acknowledges a small home area may contribute towards three points in Diagram 1: for instance, to those who have lived in the area for 10-20 years; to those aged 55-64 years; and to Social Class IV. Similarly he would contribute to 29 points in Diagram 2. In effect the survey is being treated here as though it were a selection of stratified samples rather than a random sample of the total population.

73. The variables considered in Diagram 2 include personal characteristics (e.g. sex, terminal age of education, having relations or friends in the area, stage of family development, and the three variables considered in Diagram 1); personal habits (e.g. with regard to shopping, newspaper readership, entertainments, frequency of seeing relatives and friends); and characteristics of the neighbourhood (e.g. size and type of town/local authority, density of population, mobility of population). Profiles for only two of the possible 29 variables have been drawn here: *length of residence* and *interest in local and public affairs*

(taken from Section G of Research Study No. 9). To have reproduced more profiles would have confused the diagram and to some extent would have served to obscure the general pattern.

74. It is at once evident that the points tend to lie within a broad band stretching from the top-left of the diagram (a high degree of local isolation and relatively small home areas) to the bottom right (a low degree of local isolation and relatively large home areas). In other words, although it has already been noted that the two dimensions are not logically related, there does appear to be an empirical relationship between them: local isolation tends to vary inversely with the relative size of the home area for different social categories. Broadly speaking, those categories (points) in the top left of Diagram 2 represent low involvement in the community (few friends, few relations, few entertainments, little local activity) and those in the bottom right represent a relatively high involvement by generally active people. It should be noted, however, that while different aspects of involvement may be identified with similar perceptions of the home area, the former are not necessarily closely related to one another. For instance, interest in local and public affairs and length of residence in the home area, which are seen to have similar profiles in Diagram 2, are in fact only tenuously related to one another. In other words, the identification of a relatively large home area may be quite general, but it may reflect different forms of local involvement.

75. There is another feature of Diagram 1 that is worth developing further. As compared with the profile for length of residence in the home area, the profile for age is relatively compact and appears to lie along a different axis from the other variables considered. Social class appears to be somewhere between these two: Social Class I (large employers and professionals) has an unusually high value for the relative size of the home area, but the other classes are again relatively compact. Where a single point tends towards some extreme value, it is possible to account for this in terms of the smallness and atypicality of the category. Thus, Social Class I, representing only 4% of the total sample, may well be regarded as a marginal group whose perceptions of the home area are unusually positive. But one cannot account for the range of the length of residence profile in this way: those resident for less than three years represent 15% of the total sample, and those born in the home area 17%. Moreover, this profile stretches in both dimensions towards the extremes.

76. This leads one to consider whether age and to a lesser extent social class, because they do not appear to be associated with such wide variations in attitudes towards the existence and size of the home area, are only indirectly associated and hence essentially secondary factors.

77. If one assumes, for the sake of argument, that length of residence alone influences this perception of the home area and that age, for instance, has no direct relevance, then the profile for age would be accounted for entirely by the fact that younger people are more likely to have been born in their home area or to have lived there only a short time, while older people are less likely to have been born in the area but are more likely to have lived there for some years.

78. The relevant data for testing this hypothesis are: (a) perception of the home area associated with varying lengths of residence (as shown in Diagram

Appendix 7

1); and (b) the distribution of different lengths of residence associated with each age group. From these it is possible to derive a hypothetical distribution for each age group in terms of the number who might be expected to identify a large home area, a small home area or no home area. This may be compared with the known distribution revealed by the survey. If the hypothetical and the actual distributions are similar, then this supports the hypothesis. The exercise then may be repeated for social class and length of residence to see whether social class also is a secondary consideration.

79. Table 19 indicates the results of this exercise. The chi-squared values of 21.7 and 12.6 shown at the foot of the table are measures of the discrepancy between the hypothetical and the actual distributions, and indicate that in each case the hypothetical distribution is significantly different from the actual distribution, thereby disproving the hypothesis. However, it is still worth noting that nearly one-half of the discrepancy noted for social class (10.5/21.7) is due to the atypicality of Social Class I alone and that well over one-half of the discrepancy noted for age (7.0/12.6) is due to the atypicality of those aged over 65 years. In each case, the discrepancy between real and hypothetical values is concentrated in the tail of the profile. If one were to repeat the calculations ignoring Social Class I altogether, then the discrepancy between real and hypothetical would be considerably reduced; and if one were to repeat it ignoring those aged 65 and over, then there would be no significant difference at all between the actual and hypothetical distributions.

Table 19: Hypothetical and actual perceptions of home area

	<i>Hypothetical distribution of sample</i>			<i>Actual distribution of sample</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Large home area</i>	<i>Small home area</i>	<i>No home area</i>	<i>Large home area</i>	<i>Small home area</i>	<i>No home area</i>	
<i>Social Class</i>							
I	41.6	31.5	23.1	57	20	19	96
II	74.4	55.6	36.8	79	54	35	168
III	331.2	256.7	179.4	324	249	193	766
IV	215.2	156.6	101.5	224	167	83	474
V	241.7	174.7	110.4	216	188	122	526
<i>Age</i>							
21-35 years	224.3	167.3	129.4	234	158	129	521
35-44 years	190.0	143.8	106.3	199	131	111	441
45-54 years	201.5	147.5	96.6	210	137	98	445
55-64 years	185.1	134.7	73.2	172	142	79	393
Over 65 years	165.3	128.9	75.8	155	152	63	370

Measurement of discrepancy between hypothetical and actual distributions:

For social class—chi-squared = 21.7. With 6 degrees of freedom, this is significant at 0.5%.

For age—chi-squared = 12.6. With 6 degrees of freedom, this is significant at exactly 5.0%.

80. In other words, while the relative degree of concentration of the distribution of perceptions of the home area with regard to age and its contrary trend cannot be entirely explained by reference to the lengths of residence in an area associated with each age group, it can be substantially accounted for. This is less true of social class, although once again this appears to be a less dominant variable than length of residence.

81. It is useful at this stage to consider some other attitudes towards the home area analysed by length of residence, age and social class. Table 20 shows the proportion (expressed as a percentage) of each category who said that:

- (a) they were quite or very interested in their home area;
- (b) they would be quite or very sorry to leave their home area;
- (c) they knew very many people in their home area;
- (d) they had relations or in-laws living in their home area;
- (e) more than half their friends lived in their home area.

Table 20: Attitudes towards home area

<i>Category</i>	<i>(a) Interest in home area</i>	<i>(b) Sorry to leave</i>	<i>(c) Know many people</i>	<i>(d) Have relations</i>	<i>(e) Most friends</i>	<i>Size of category</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	
Length of residence						
0-3 years	54	57	15	28	20	336
3-10 years	53	59	25	34	29	491
10-20 years	51	59	31	40	30	435
Over 20 years	58	71	46	56	50	575
Born here	65	74	62	87	63	364
Age				*	*	
21-34 years	55	58	37	52	40	521
35-44 years	59	61	34	50	36	441
45-54 years	61	68	38	50	37	445
55-64 years	53	66	41	49	42	393
Over 65 years	51	73	31	45	40	370
Social class						
I	71	69	38	30	27	97
II	68	74	46	45	34	168
III	61	61	36	43	35	773
IV	52	63	37	56	43	477
V	48	64	36	59	42	531

*Percentages indirectly estimated for age.

82. It is evident from Table 20 that length of residence is more closely associated with social contacts (columns (c) (d) and (e)) than age or social class, and is reasonably (though not uniquely) associated with a more general attachment to the area (columns (a) and (b)).

83. Interpreted in another way, Diagram 1 and Table 20 underline the significance of the length of residence in the home area for the whole network of social ties within it. Typically, a person will never again have the same degree

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of identification with any new home area as he had with the one in which he grew up.

84. Length of residence in the area, then, is of considerable importance when considering attitudes towards the locality in which one lives. This contrasts with the somewhat unexceptional conclusions in the previous section, where length of residence (in the local authority area) was found to be of little significance.

85. Since length of residence is likely to decline on average in the future as geographic mobility increases, it is worth considering whether its undoubted effect on home area attitudes has any implications for local government generally in the future. Table 21 therefore examines attitudes directly associated with local public affairs in general and with local government in particular in relation to length of residence, age and social class. These attitudes are derived from answers to a further set of questions, viz:—

- (a) obtaining at least 6 correct answers as to who was responsible for 9 different services (knowledge of services, column (a))
- (b) expressing an interest in taking an active part in the running of local government (column (b))
- (c) having participated in some kind of local public service (column (c))

Table 21: Attitudes towards local affairs

<i>Category</i>	<i>(a) Knowledge of public services</i>	<i>(b) Interest in local government</i>	<i>(c) Participation in public service</i>	<i>Size of category</i>
	%	%	%	
Length of residence				
0-3 years	45	3	7	336
3-10 years	51	5	9	491
10-20 years	53	7	10	435
Over 20 years	49	} 7	} 9	573
Born here	54			364
Age				
21-34 years	52	3	4	521
35-44 years	56	5	8	441
45-54 years	54	7	11	445
55-64 years	50	8	8	393
Over 65 years	47	8	4	370
Social class				
I	72	26	27	97
II	51	15	21	168
III	48	4	9	773
IV	57	7	6	477
V	47	3	4	531

86. It is evident from Table 21 that in spite of the basic relevance of length of residence when considering attitudes towards the home area and its associated network of social ties, it does not appear to have any substantial importance when one considers attitudes towards public affairs or public services. Social class on the other hand—as the community attitudes survey also notes—appears to be altogether a more significant factor, and this is fully consistent with the findings of Section III of this appendix. But it is not altogether consistent with the earlier findings of this exercise where “future” councillors were shown to have lived in the (local authority) area less long on average than the total population (paragraph 19 above). It is therefore important to note that this group was a younger and generally a better educated minority and not in any real sense a representative cross-section of the total community.

87. But the fact remains that neither survey considered here can be said to demonstrate convincingly that any increase in mobility will *directly* affect attitudes towards local government. It is true that those having lived less than 5 years in their local authority area (Table 13) or less than 3 years in their home area (Table 21) tend to show slightly less knowledge of, interest in, or satisfaction with local public affairs. But the Local Government Elector Survey has indicated that among these relative newcomers there may be a number of potential or “future” councillors, with more than an average interest. And the Community Attitudes Survey has indicated that local involvement expressed as a positive perception of a relatively large home area is not solely confined to those with an extensive length of residence or a close network of local ties: it also includes other categories who show a general interest in local and public affairs.

88. These conclusions may be expressed in another way. To the extent that greater mobility of population may be associated directly with higher level of education, increased mobility may augment, rather than reduce, interest in local government.

V. ATTITUDES ANALYSED BY LOCAL AUTHORITY SIZE AND TYPE

89. Another aspect of attitudes towards local government that has relevance to the future, particularly to a future when a new pattern of local government is in operation, is the variation in attitudes in different types and sizes (i.e. population) of local authority. Again the exercise is based on the findings of the Local Government Elector Survey and the Commission's own Community Attitudes Survey. The indices developed in Sections III and IV of this appendix are used. These were *confidence in local government councillors*, *satisfaction with knowledge of local government*, *involvement in organisations* and *general and local knowledge of local government*, derived from the earlier survey; and *local social attachment* and *interest in local and public affairs*, used in the more recent survey. The notion of a pass-mark achieved by one-half of the total sample is again used to simplify the general presentation, and it is also worth noting that local social attachment is very closely related to length of residence in the home area from which it was derived. In addition, *perceptions of the home area* are also used by reference to the proportion who perceived no home area (*local isolation*) and the proportion who perceived a larger rather than a smaller home area (*relative size of the home area*).

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90. The following three tables present the basic data of this analysis relating to size and type of local authority area. Because the Community Attitudes Survey was restricted to the area under consideration by the Royal Commission, it did not cover Greater London or Wales. The Local Government Elector Survey covered the whole of England and Wales. The local authority size and type categories also differed between the two surveys, and this accounts for differences between Table 22 and Tables 23 and 24.

Table 22: The Local Government Elector Survey and size (% passes)

Attitude Index	Inner London	Outer London	County boroughs with populations:—			Municipal boroughs and urban districts with populations				Rural districts
			Over 250,000	100,000–250,000	Below 100,000	Over 50,000	20,000–50,000	10,000–20,000	Below 10,000	
Confidence	47	57	48	48	45	52	50	51	56	45
Satisfaction	45	54	53	61	60	66	56	53	59	54
Involvement	33	40	45	42	56	52	46	48	53	45
Knowledge	38	49	42	53	53	62	52	42	66	41
Sample size	131	214	286	170	143	153	439	123	89	218

Table 23: The Community Attitudes Survey and size (% passes)

Attitude Index	County boroughs			Municipal boroughs and urban districts				Rural districts
	In conurbations	Over 250,000 pop.	Below 250,000 pop.	In conurbations	Over 60,000 pop.	30–60,000 pop.	Below 30,000 pop.	
Local social attachment	42	38	46	47	35	44	56	45
Interest in local and public affairs	47	41	46	50	53	48	52	53
Sample size	294	206	251	113	238	288	417	538

Table 24: Perception of home area by local authority size and type (Community Attitudes Survey)

Perception of home area	County boroughs			Municipal boroughs and urban districts				Rural districts
	In conurbations	Over 250,000 pop.	Below 250,000 pop.	In conurbations	Over 60,000 pop.	30–60,000 pop.	Below 30,000 pop.	
Local isolation (proportion with no home area)	24%	21%	25%	21%	30%	20%	18%	24%
Relative size of home area (proportion of large to small)	0.64	0.56	1.62	1.62	0.84	1.80	2.09	1.61
Size of sample	291	205	249	113	237	285	412	535

91. One of the most striking features of these tables is that, despite considerable variation in the relative size of the home area between local authority areas of different sizes and types (Table 24), there is little comparable variation among the other indices considered. Another feature worth noting is the extent to which three of the four indices of Table 22 have consistently lower scores in Inner London than elsewhere; but this does not seem to mark any readily

1. This category includes the supplementary sample of the survey (see the survey report).

discernible trends between the highly urban conurbations on the one hand and small towns and rural areas on the other. It is, however, worth looking at these differences in greater detail.

Conurbations

92. One of the conclusions emerging from the Local Government Elector Survey was that respondents in the Greater London boroughs tended to be less involved or concerned with local government. Table 22 above takes this point one step further by suggesting that these attitudes are concentrated to a considerable extent within the highly urbanised inner core of the conurbation. It is useful to ask, therefore, whether this is true of conurbations in general and whether the survey data can substantiate the point. Is a town like, say, Denton similar to other small towns of 37,000 people or is it affected by being part of the continuous urban tract of the South East Lancashire conurbation? Table 25, below, is an elaboration of the preceding tables designed to explore this possibility.

Table 25: Conurbations and free standing towns

	<i>Inner London</i>	<i>County boroughs</i>		<i>Municipal boroughs and urban districts</i>		<i>Total sample</i>
		<i>Conurbation</i>	<i>Free- standing</i>	<i>Conurbation</i>	<i>Free- standing</i>	
(a) Confidence in local councillors %	47	50	45	55	51	49
(b) Satisfaction with knowledge of local government %	45	50	62	59	58	55
(c) Involvement in organisations %	33	45	48	47	48	45
(d) Knowledge of local government %	38	46	49	56	54	48
(e) Local social attachment %	—	42	42	47	44	46
(f) Interest in local and public affairs %	—	47	44	50	49	49
(g) Local isolation %	—	21	24	21	20	22
(h) Relative size of home area (proportion of large to small)	—	0.56	1.00	1.62	1.79	1.34
Sample size:						
Local Government Elector Survey	131	244	355	108	607	2,184
Community Attitudes Survey	—	294	457	113	797	2,199

93. In Table 25, the proportion of "passes" on scales (a) – (d) have been calculated for the respondents in Inner London to give at least some idea of what the attitudes are in an undoubtedly highly urbanised area. They show values which in scales (b) (c) and (d) are well below the average. On the other hand, apart from rows (a) and (h) there is no consistent evidence to suggest that there is any difference between free-standing towns and towns of an equivalent status

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and comparable size in the conurbations. In other words, the extent of involvement, attitudes and knowledge of local government do not seem to be affected by the degree of urbanisation as measured by location in a conurbation. It is possible, of course, that in the course of time if some of the conurbation areas become as closely built up as Inner London, the general attitudes will change.

Small Towns

94. In Table 26, below, the variations of the scores for each index are again considered for towns of a different size. The principal aim here is to bring together the data from the two surveys into one table and to pay particular attention to towns with a population of less than 100,000. The two surveys have used different scales for town size, hence a precise comparison is not possible¹.

Table 26: Attitudes in smaller towns

	<i>Larger towns</i>	<i>Medium size towns</i>	<i>Smaller towns</i>	<i>Total sample</i>
(a) Confidence in local councillors %	49	50	54	49
(b) Satisfaction with knowledge of local government %	63	56	55	55
(c) Involvement in organisations %	54	46	50	45
(d) Knowledge of local government %	57	52	52	48
(e) Local social attachment %	35	44	56	46
(f) Interest in local and public affairs %	53	48	52	49
(g) Local isolation %	30	20	18	22
(h) Relative size of home area (proportion of large to small)	0.84	1.80	2.09	1.34
Sample size:				
Local Government Elector Survey	296	439	212	2,184
Community Attitudes Survey	235	288	417	2,199

95. Table 26 suggests that while local social attachment (row (e) in the table), lack of isolation (row (g)), and relatively large home areas (row (h)), may be associated to some extent with smallness (especially towns below 30,000), this is not true of any of the indices associated in one way or another with attitudes towards local government. On none of these indices do small towns score more than 5% above the mean score of the total sample and variations are well within the realm of chance.

The Home Area

96. In Section IV and the present section, the relative size of the home area has been defined for convenience as the ratio in any category of those who identify

1. The sizes of the towns in the two surveys are as follows:

	<i>Community Attitudes Survey</i>	<i>Local Government Elector Survey</i>
larger towns:—	MB/UDs over 60,000 (includes supplementary sample)	MB/UDs and CBs between 50,000 and 100,000
medium size towns:—	30–60,000	20–50,000
smaller towns:—	below 30,000	below 20,000

a home area comprising more than a 10-minute walk to those who identify a smaller area. In making this definition it was claimed that similar results would have been obtained had an alternative scale to differentiate "large" from "small" been chosen. While certain patterns have been discernible in the previous sub-sections, the overall pattern revealed in Table 24 is confusing. This may partly be accounted for by the relatively small size of the category samples; but it is also quite possible that there are a number of superimposed trends contained in this one table that are the principal cause of this confusion.

97. Table 27 is an elaboration of Table 24 in which the total range of sizes of home area are given as the proportion of each category who identified this size. Thus among the 291 respondents living in conurbation county boroughs who answered the question: 27% identified an area less than the whole local authority area, but greater than a group of streets; 5% identified an area comprising one street or less; and so on.

Table 27: Perception of home area and size (% of each type of local authority).

Perception of home area	County boroughs			Municipal boroughs and urban districts				Rural districts	Total
	In conurbations	Over 250,000	Below 250,000	In conurbations	Over 60,000	30-60,000	Below 30,000		
(a) County/region	*	—	1	—	—	*	*	2	*
(b) L.a. + surrounding area	*	—	1	4	3	3	4	6	3
(c) Part of l.a. and surrounding area	*	—	1	2	2	—	*	2	1
(d) L.a. Area	2	4	14	12	9	17	33	2	12
(e) District of l.a. (incl. parish)	27	24	30	32	19	31	17	36	28
(f) Group of streets	41	44	25	27	28	23	21	29	33
(g) A street or less	5	7	4	4	10	5	6		
(h) No home area	24	21	25	21	30	20	18	24	22
Size of sample	291	205	249	113	237	285	412	535	2,182

*less than 0.5%.

98. A number of points become evident from this table. In the first place, there is a clear tendency for those living in larger towns to identify home areas that are smaller than the local authority area as a whole (i.e. rows (e), (f) or (g)). This may not be quite such a marked difference as it appears for row (e) (district of a local authority) since a district within a larger town could be bigger than a whole small town (row (d)). But, this qualification apart, rows (f) and (g), taken together with (e), point to a different conception of the home area in larger as compared with smaller towns and in towns embedded in the conurbations. In the largest towns (with over 250,000 people) there is an unmistakable tendency to see the home area in terms of a group of streets or less. Really small towns of less than 30,000 people are seen more readily as single communities. This degree of identification is also consistent with the fact that fewer denied the existence of a home area in this category than in any other category.

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99. In so far as they tend not to identify their local authority area as their home area, respondents living in rural districts may appear to be similar to those living in large towns. However, a clear majority identifies the parish or something less.

100. Table 28 is a condensation of Table 27, to bring out the pattern discussed in paragraphs 98-99. Conurbation authorities are not included.

Table 28: Size of home area and size of town

Size of home area	Town population				Total sample
	Over 250,000	Between 60,000 and 250,000	Between 30,000 and 60,000	Below 30,000	
At least as large as the town itself (%)	4	16	20	38	17
A town district (%)	24	28	31	17	28
A group of streets or less (%)	50	32	29	27	33
Size of sample	205	341	285	412	2,182

Conclusion

101. The range of interest in local government and associated attitudes is substantially constant between various types of area, of authority, and between towns of a different size. Trends which suggest that the smaller towns below 100,000 (i.e. the municipal boroughs and urban districts) tend to score higher in these respects than the larger towns, and the larger towns than the metropolitan conurbation, are only slight.

102. When the data are divided into smaller and finer categories no such trends are discernible: towns in the non-metropolitan conurbations do not differ significantly from free-standing towns of a comparable size; really small towns do not appear to differ significantly from those that are somewhat larger. Only in rural areas where there has been a loss of population, by implication the more remote areas, is there a discernible increase in the degree of interest in local and public affairs, and information is not available to test it against the other indices.

103. It is perhaps worth noting that the indices of *local social involvement* and *relative size of home area* are apparently related to size of town and type of area more than any of the other indices. "Type" in this context tends to be closely associated with size, linked as it is with the classification of urban authorities, as county boroughs, boroughs and urban districts (and the distinction between district authorities in and outside conurbations) in what amounts to a rough size-gradation. The indices tend to be highest in the smallest communities.

Diagram I

PROFILES OF PERCEPTION OF HOME AREA FOR THREE SOCIAL VARIABLES

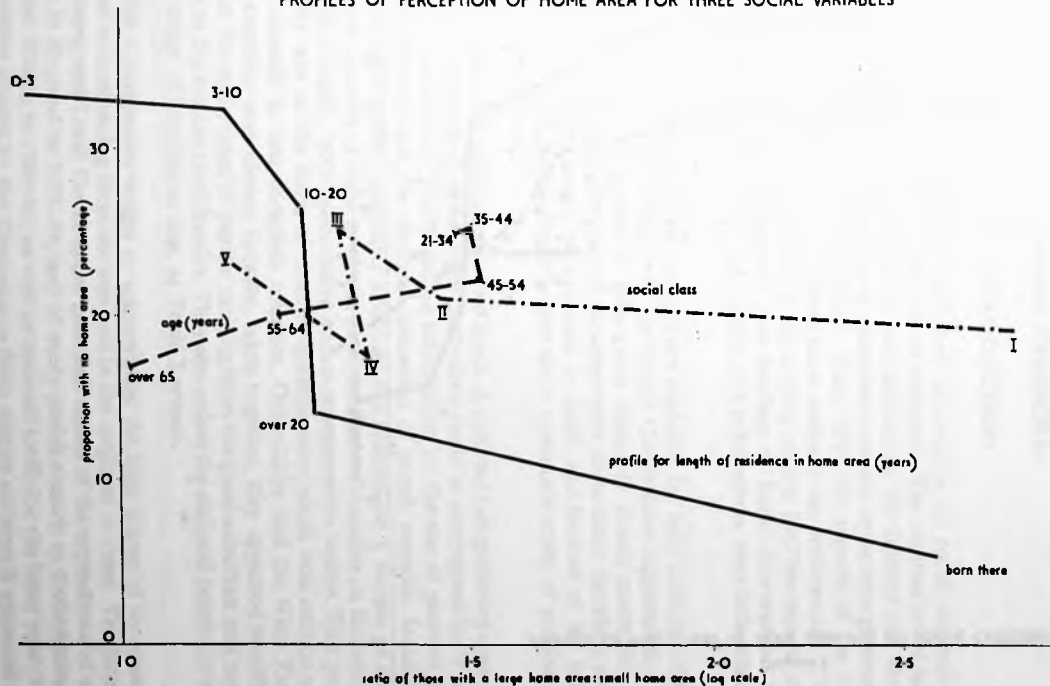
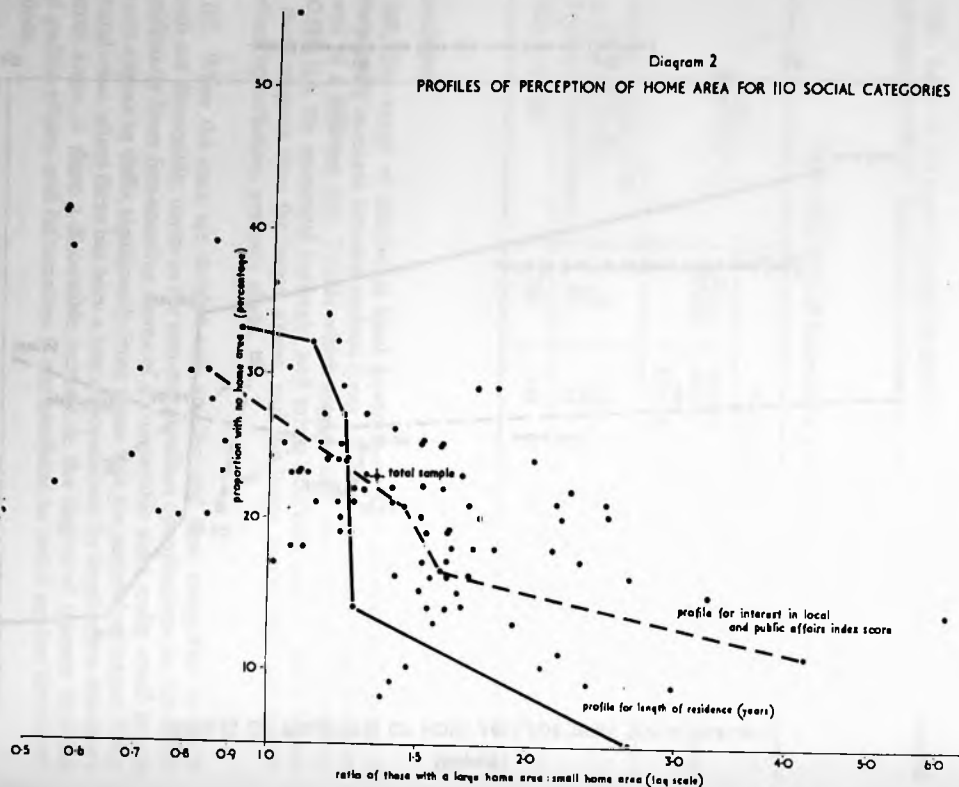


Diagram 2
PROFILES OF PERCEPTION OF HOME AREA FOR 110 SOCIAL CATEGORIES



APPENDIX 8

PARISH COUNCILS

I. INTRODUCTION

1. There is far less available published information on parish councils and meetings than on any other type of local authority. The contrast could hardly be more striking. Detailed statistical information on the finances and services of counties, boroughs and districts is published annually by various government departments and professional bodies¹. Since 1958 the reports of the Local Government Commission for England have analysed the performance of local authorities over almost the whole of the country, and in 1967 the reports of the Committees on the Management and Staffing of Local Government were published. But in all these varied reports and publications, very little attention is given to parishes.

2. At the same time, parish councils are probably the least criticised of local authorities, and many witnesses to the Royal Commission suggested that any new structure should contain a grass-roots authority closely resembling the present parish council. Because of the important democratic functions such a grass-roots authority would be expected to fulfil, and because of the lack of knowledge of what parish councils now do, a systematic study of parishes was felt to be imperative.

3. The study was undertaken at two levels. A national fact-gathering operation covered those aspects of parish behaviour which could be ascertained fairly easily for the whole country. This included information on the size of parishes, their financial activity, and the electoral behaviour of parish councils. In addition to the national survey, particular attention was focused on a sample of almost 450 parish councils in order to obtain more detailed information on the activities of parish councils, both as executive and as representative bodies. This part of the study was in the form of a short questionnaire which was sent to every parish council in two complete counties, Oxfordshire and the West Riding. These counties were chosen because, taken together, they appeared broadly to embrace the main types of parish, ranging from the quasi-suburban and mining village to the remote rural hamlet. They also reflect the national pattern in terms of the range of population size, as Table 2 reveals.

4. The Commission wishes to acknowledge the high degree of co-operation received in conducting these surveys and in the response to them. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government provided details of the expenditure of every parish in England in 1958-59, and of every parish council in Oxfordshire and the West Riding in 1964-65, as well as national totals for the latter year. From information sought by the Commission from district auditors it appeared that,

1. For example: Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *Public Cleansing Costing Returns*, (H.M.S.O., Annually); I.M.T.A., *Education Statistics*, (I.M.T.A. Annually); and other publications of the I.M.T.A. and local authority associations.

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compared with the majority of Oxfordshire or West Riding parishes, some parish councils in the two counties were particularly active financially and others were financially largely inactive. On behalf of the Commission, the Rural District Councils Association circularised every rural district council early in 1967, asking for details of the number of candidates at the last election of each parish council, and of the rate precept issued by each parish council in 1966-67. At the time there were 410 rural districts in England, and no less than 380 (or 93%) replied to this circular. Thus, nationally, a virtually complete picture of parish council electoral and financial activity could be built up.

5. The questionnaire sent to parish councils in Oxfordshire and the West Riding was equally well received. Of the 444 councils, 396 (or 89%) returned completed forms, and three others wrote giving reasons for their failure to respond. Such a response rate is extremely high for a postal questionnaire survey, and part of the reason for this was that the distribution and collection was undertaken for the Commission by the two local secretaries of the county Associations of Parish Councils. The two secretaries, Mr. L. W. Wood in Oxfordshire and Mr. S. Price in Yorkshire, also assisted in the analysis of the results by undertaking a classification of the parishes in their counties on the basis of their wide knowledge and experience of the areas. The Commission would like to take this opportunity to thank both of them for their invaluable assistance.

6. This report on the study is divided into three parts. Attention is first focused on the national setting, and information is given on the financial and electoral activity of parishes. This is followed by an analysis in greater detail of parish activity in the two county studies. In addition to financial and electoral data, information is presented on the frequency of council meetings, the attendance at the annual parish meeting, and the sort of business in which parish councils are involved when they are acting as local pressure groups rather than as executive bodies. The third section of the report narrows the field of study still further. Parish councils already operate in some areas which are by nature more urban than rural, and details of the activities of a small selection of such councils are given in order to try to see what sort of functions might be undertaken by any new form of authority established in an area currently administered by a borough or urban district council.

II. THE NATIONAL PICTURE

(a) Parish Councils and Parish Meetings

7. Rural district areas are divided into parishes, and every parish with a population of more than 300 should, by law, have a parish council, consisting of between 5 and 21 councillors. Smaller parishes may also have a parish council if they wish (though only with the agreement of the county council if they have a population of less than 200), and if they do not have a council the business of the parish is transacted at parish meetings held at least twice a year. In 1966 there were 7,054 parish councils in England, 82 of which were joint councils administering two or more separate parishes¹.

1. Hansard, House of Commons, Volume 734, Written Answers, Column 113, (24th October 1966).

8. Table 1 classifies all rural parishes in England into six population groups. There are almost 10,000 parishes, and they range in population from nought (in 13 cases) to well over thirty thousand. Some 5,600 automatically qualify for a parish council because they have more than three hundred inhabitants, and a little over one-third of the smaller parishes (1,500 out of 4,350) have opted for a parish council in preference to a parish meeting form of government.

Table 1: Rural parishes in England—population size

	Population, 1961						Total
	0	1-299	300-999	1,000-2,999	3,000-9,999	10,000+	
Number of Parishes	13	4,326	3,518	1,539	509	49	9,954
% of total	0.1	43.5	35.3	15.5	5.1	0.5	100

Source: Census 1961, County Reports, Table 3.

9. The distribution of parishes by size varies considerably between counties, and this is illustrated clearly in Table 2. The counties selected are the two later studied in detail (Oxfordshire and the West Riding), for which one joint figure is given, and four extreme examples—two with a preponderance of small parishes (Hereford and the North Riding), and two with a high proportion of large ones (Surrey and Durham). The last two counties have respectively four and five times as many parishes with a population of more than 3,000 than the national average, while Hereford and the North Riding have a large preponderance of villages of under 300, and very few with more than one thousand inhabitants. The two counties later studied in depth contain an average cross-section of each population group, and nowhere contrast strikingly with the national figures.

Table 2: Population of parishes—comparison between counties

	Percentage of parishes with 1961 populations of:				
	0-299	300-999	1,000-2,999	3,000-9,999	10,000 and over
England (9,954)	% 43.6	% 35.3	% 15.5	% 5.1	% 0.5
Hereford (243)	65.4	32.5	2.1	—	—
North Riding (505)	75.4	17.0	6.7	0.8	—
Durham (166)	43.4	16.9	19.3	17.5	3.0
Surrey (69)	7.2	29.0	36.2	24.6	2.9
Oxfordshire and West Riding (683)	49.6	30.2	14.3	5.0	0.9

Source: As Table 1.

Note: Number of parishes is given in brackets.

10. In total, 72% of parishes have parish councils and 28% have only parish meetings. But a far larger proportion of the total parish population live in areas governed by a council than this figure of 72% indicates. In Oxfordshire and the West Riding, 34% of parishes lacked a council (a slightly higher proportion than nationally), but only 4.7% of the two counties' parish population lived in these villages. Assuming that the two sample areas are not wildly unrepresentative, it may be concluded that about 95% of the inhabitants of parishes reside in communities which have a parish council.

(b) Parish council electoral activity

11. The first aspect of parish councils examined was their effectiveness as local representative bodies. This is not easy to render into terms that can be measured, even supposing there were agreement on what should be measured. Nevertheless there did seem to be three aspects for which comparable information could be got and which covered at least some of what are usually regarded as indicators of a healthy representative system. These were: the percentage of candidates to seats; the percentage of contested elections; and the percentage of parishes where there were fewer candidates than vacancies.

12. Early in 1967 each of the 410 clerks of rural district councils in England was asked to supply details of the number of candidates coming forward at the last parish council elections. The elections covered were normally those in the 1964-66 triennium, though in a few cases the clerks waited until after the May 1967 elections before replying. Some 380 out of the 410 (or 93%) eventually sent replies which could be used in the analysis, and thus a virtually complete picture of recent parish council electoral activity could be obtained. The 380 replies covered 6,538 parish councils and no less than 53,167 parish council seats. An incidental aspect of parish councils which this survey revealed was that there are around 57,000 parish councillors in England, compared with 3,711 aldermen and 31,836 councillors on all other types of authority in England outside Greater London¹.

13. A brief summary of parish electoral activity is given in Table 3, from which four main points emerge. First, the wide inter-county ranges indicate that there is a great difference in the levels of activity as between individual counties. Were the ranges between individual rural districts given, even greater disparities would emerge, but as many districts contain only a handful of parishes with a council, this would be statistically meaningless. Secondly, as many as one in three councils have contested elections. This may not appear at first sight to be an indication of great activity, but in fact elections for parish councils appear to be slightly more common than contests for seats on rural district councils, despite there being a far larger number of seats to be filled. At the corresponding rural district council elections only 30% of seats were contested.

14. A third, and perhaps more interesting, discovery is the extent to which parishes are unable to obtain enough candidates to fill all the seats available. More than one in five parishes had an insufficient number of candidates at the last election. This is a phenomenon almost unique to parish government,

1. Hansard, House of Commons, Volume 773, Written Answers, Column 61, (12th November 1968).

Table 3: Parish council election results

	% candidates to seats	% contested elections	% parishes with fewer candidates than vacancies
National average	107.9	32.2	21.8
Inter-county range	85-141	9-64	0-45

though it is also found occasionally at both rural district and county council level. In part it is undoubtedly due to the absence of organised party politics in the vast majority of parishes, as is the final point to emerge from the table, i.e. that the surplus of candidates for the seats available is very small. Overall there are about eleven candidates for every ten seats, and even when parishes with a shortfall are ignored, it is clear that the surplus is much smaller than in the case of urban elections. Examples of where there are two or three times as many candidates as there are seats vacant, fairly common in towns, are extremely rare in parish council elections.

15. The electoral returns were further analysed to see which counties contained electorally active parishes, and which contained large numbers of parishes that were electorally inactive. The counties were selected on the basis of the three heads in Table 3, that is to say, the ratio of candidates to seats, percentage of contests, and percentage with a shortfall of candidates. An electorally active county had to perform at least 5 percentage points better than the national average in each of the three cases. Thus, to be classified as active, a county required a ratio of candidates to seats of at least 113%, contests in more than 37.2% of parishes, and a shortfall of candidates in under 16.8%. An inactive county was one in which the ratio of candidates to seats was below 103%, there were contests in less than 27.2% of parishes and the shortfall of candidates was more than 26.8%. Counties which fell between these limits on any one head were regarded as neither electorally active nor inactive.

Table 4: Counties where parishes are electorally active or inactive

<i>Active</i>			<i>Inactive</i>		
<i>County</i>	(1)	(2)	<i>County</i>	(1)	(2)
Cambridgeshire/Ely	200	28.2	Cumberland	92	21.8
Derbyshire	441	6.5	Devon	105	18.5
Essex	268	17.5	Herefordshire	90	41.1
Hampshire	271	13.3	Lindsey	127	29.1
Hertfordshire	543	6.8	West Suffolk	158	27.8
Surrey	498	8.5	Westmorland	51	35.5
Isle of Wight	209	19.7			
Worcestershire	227	21.0			
Yorks., West Riding	259	9.9			

(1) Population density/sq. mile for rural districts in the county, 1966.

(2) % of economically active males in agriculture for rural districts in the county, 1961.

16. On this basis nine of the 45 English counties were classified as electorally active, and 6 as inactive. The individual counties are listed in Table 4, together with the respective average population densities for their rural districts (column 1) and the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture (column 2). Both provide an index of rural character.

17. The table suggests a fairly definite inverse connection between how rural a county is and how active its parishes are. With the very marginal exception of Cambridgeshire, all the active counties have a population density in excess of 200 per square mile. By contrast, all the inactive counties fall below 200, and all but one of them below 150. For the agricultural employment index the picture is not quite so clear-cut. Nevertheless only Cambridgeshire again falls markedly outside the general tendency for the active counties to have a low proportion of people employed in agriculture. Two factors may help to explain the unexpectedly high level of activity in Cambridgeshire. First, the county is unique in having a number of Village Colleges where evening courses are provided for local inhabitants, and secondly Cambridgeshire is one of a handful of counties where the local planning authority notifies each parish council of all planning applications affecting its area, and encourages the council to comment.¹

(c) Parish council financial activity

18. In 1964-5, the latest year for which figures are available, parishes spent £3.7 million on revenue and £0.4 million on capital account. Although these totals include expenditure by both parish councils and parish meetings, in fact nearly all of these amounts will have been incurred by councils, for about 95% of the total parish population live in areas with a council, and in addition parish meetings have extremely limited powers of expenditure. The figures also include expenditure by Welsh parishes, but they cover a population of only about 800,000 out of the total of 10.2 million for all parishes in England and Wales.

19. In Table 5 the total expenditure on revenue account is broken down into separate categories. Almost exactly one-third of the total in 1964-65 was spent on street lighting alone, and this plus expenditure on recreation grounds accounted for a little over half of the £3.7 million. Future expenditure figures for the parishes are likely to differ substantially from those given in the table for the year 1964-65 due to two recent changes in the law relating to parish council powers. The Public Libraries and Museums Act 1964 transferred the few remaining parish libraries to the county councils in April 1965, and the Local Government Act 1966 transferred street lighting to the counties as the highways authorities in rural areas. In the latter case, however, many parishes will not in fact lose their lighting powers as in a large number of villages the present lighting is classed under the 1966 Act as "footway" rather than "street" lighting. The provision of footway lighting remains a function of parish councils.

1. See Annex I to this appendix for details of this and other schemes of consultation with parish councils on planning applications.

Table 5: Parish expenditure—England and Wales 1964-5 (Revenue Account)

	<i>Expenditure (£)</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Public lighting	1,210,320	33.0
Parks and recreation grounds	850,039	23.1
Highways	96,096	2.6
Allotments	84,447	2.3
Libraries	52,669	1.4
Baths and wash houses	48,992	1.3
Miscellaneous	442,580	12.1
General administration	441,729	12.0
Burial accounts	416,865	11.4
Charities and trust funds	28,844	0.8
Total	£3,672,581	100.0

Source: Ministry of Housing, unpublished statistics.

20. The capital expenditure of parishes in 1964-65 is summarised in Table 6, and again street lighting and recreation grounds account for well over half the total of £410,000. In this case, however, their relative positions are reversed, with recreation grounds alone accounting for 42% of the total. Over a quarter of parish capital expenditure is unfortunately classified as "miscellaneous", but replies to the Commission's questionnaire survey in Oxfordshire and the West Riding indicate that a large portion of this is likely to be spent on the building, improving or extending of village halls and community centres.

Table 6: Parish expenditure—England and Wales 1964-5 (Capital Account)

	<i>Expenditure (£)</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Public lighting	96,237	23.5
Parks and recreation grounds	173,037	42.2
Libraries	12,000	2.9
Miscellaneous	108,688	26.5
Burial accounts	20,091	4.9
Total	£410,053	100.0

Source: As Table 5.

21. Parish expenditure accounts for only a very small fraction of total local government expenditure. In 1964-65 English and Welsh local authorities spent £2,903 million on revenue account and £1,226 million on capital account¹. The

1. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *Local Government Financial Statistics, England and Wales 1964-65*, Table IX. H.M.S.O., 1967.

parish share of these totals (£3.7 million and £0.4 million respectively) was in each case a mere 0.1 %. Small as it is, however, this proportion has been rising steadily in recent years. In the six year period 1958–59 to 1964–65, parish expenditure on revenue account more than doubled from £1.8 million, whereas total local government expenditure rose by 80 %. Nevertheless, parish expenditure remains a mere drop in the ocean, and indeed, may now have fallen somewhat following legislation on libraries and lighting (see above, paragraph 19).

22. Parish councils have no positive duties in law—their powers are all permissive. As a result, a number of the less active councils incur no expenditure whatsoever, while many others spend only a few pounds a year on administrative items and the clerk's salary. In order to find out more about the expenditure levels of parishes, two further studies were made. First, the rural district council clerks were asked to list the precepts issued by each parish council in 1966–67, and secondly the Ministry of Housing and Local Government supplied information about those parishes (councils and meetings) which had no accounts in the year 1958–59—the latest year for which a complete analysis had been undertaken.

23. The returns from 380 rural districts revealed that in 1966–67, 70 % of all parish councils issued rate precepts. This total may in fact slightly underestimate the number of financially active parish councils, as some replies indicated that parishes took more than one year to spend the amounts raised by precept at one time. Even taking this into account, however, it does seem that at least 20 % of parish councils tend to be financially inactive.

24. This estimate does not appear to conflict with the Ministry of Housing's figures for 1958–59. Direct comparison is, unfortunately, impossible as these cover the presence of accounts, and parishes which do not precept may have other sources of income and thus have accounts. The Ministry reported that in 1958–59, 30.1 % of parishes (meetings and councils) had no accounts to be audited. When parish councils alone are isolated, the figure without accounts is only 6 %. However, a number with accounts did not obtain any income from the rates (and normally had a total expenditure of only a pound or two), and when this is taken into account it seems that the estimate of around 20 % financially inactive, made on the basis of the 1966–67 precepting data, is about right. The 1958–59 figures certainly give no grounds whatsoever for thinking that the recent rise in the total expenditure of parishes has been caused by more councils becoming financially active. Somewhere around one in five or six parish councils seem permanently to be virtual non-spenders.

25. A breakdown to county level of the financial data for 1958–59 and 1966–67 reveals further support for the earlier conclusion, based on electoral returns, on the relationship between activity and rurality. For each of the two years, the 45 English counties were listed in rank order, according to the proportion of parish councils with accounts in 1958–59 and the proportion precepting in 1966–67. In Table 7 those counties which appeared in the top or bottom ten in both years are listed as financially active or inactive, and as in Table 4 they are listed against the two indices of rurality: population density and percentage of agriculturalists. As in Table 4 the active counties tend to have a higher population density than the inactive and a lower percentage of agriculturalists. The exceptions, both of them very marginal, are Northamptonshire and, again, Cambridgeshire.

Table 7: Counties where parish councils are financially active or inactive

Active			Inactive		
Counties	(1)	(2)	Counties	(1)	(2)
Bedfordshire	313	15.0	Dorset	141	26.8
Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely	200	28.2	Herefordshire	90	41.1
Durham	383	5.5	Lindsey	127	29.1
Northamptonshire	157	15.6	Shropshire	163	29.4
West Sussex	310	16.4	West Suffolk	158	27.8
Isle of Wight	209	19.7	Yorks., N. Riding	99	26.0

(1) Population density/square mile for rural districts in the county, 1966.

(2) Percentage of economically active males in agriculture for rural districts in the county, 1961.

26. Although both the electoral and the financial analyses indicate that parish councils become more active the less rural (by the stated criteria) their counties are, the picture is by no means as simple as this. In both studies Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely proved an exception, for this is not a county which can be described as being dominated by urban influences. It has already been suggested that the presence of the Village Colleges and of the scheme of consultation over planning applications may be factors which help to create an unusually high level of interest in parish affairs for a county of this type. A second complication is that, as might be expected, there is not necessarily a link between electoral and financial activity. It must be remembered that fairly crude measurements have been used, and that they relate to only one year for elections and two for finance. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that only two of the six financially active counties in Table 7 also appeared in Table 4 as electorally active. Similarly, only three of the six financially inactive were also electorally inactive.

27. This second complication does not, however, affect the general conclusion that rural character and a low level of activity are closely linked. Cambridgeshire and, possibly, Northamptonshire apart, there is a firm indication that the more rural an area is, the less active are its parish councils—in electoral and financial terms at any rate.

III. PARISH COUNCILS IN OXFORDSHIRE AND THE WEST RIDING

28. The national survey dealt with two broad measures of parish council activity—electoral and financial. In neither case could any degree of precision be given to the results, due to the nature of the data. To supplement this, two complete counties were sampled in depth in order to throw more light on the operation of parish councils. The counties selected, Oxfordshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, are fairly "typical" in that they contain a cross-section of types of parish, from the declining rural hamlet to the mining village and the

fast growing quasi-suburb. Table 2 also indicated that the population distribution of parishes in the two counties taken together is tolerably close to the national average.

29. In addition to the financial and electoral data, further information on parishes in the two counties was obtained by means of a short questionnaire survey. The questionnaire asked clerks to parish councils for information on the frequency of council meetings, on the attendance at the annual parish meetings held in March 1966 and 1967, on the main items of expenditure in 1965-66, and on matters discussed by councils where as a result representations were made to other authorities. The object of this questionnaire was to obtain information on the representational or pressure group aspects of parish council work, as well as on councils as executive bodies. The questionnaire is reproduced in Annex II to this appendix.

30. All 444 parish councils in the two counties were circularised by the two secretaries of the county Associations of Parish Councils on behalf of the Commission. Altogether, 399 replies were received, of which 396 (or 89% of the councils circularised) were usable. This high response rate meant that the Commission was able to obtain a virtually complete coverage of the working of parish government in these two counties.

(a) Analysis of parish councils and of respondents

31. The Census gives the population of each parish, but apart from this, very little other published information is available on the characteristics of parishes, and certainly not enough to enable a typology to be constructed on a very firm basis. For this reason the Commission asked the two local secretaries to undertake a classification of parish councils, using their considerable local knowledge. This classification has been used in the analysis of the results.

32. The classification is based on the dominant activity of the village, and parishes with no one predominant characteristic have been categorised as "mixed". Originally six types of parish were isolated in the West Riding, and three in Oxfordshire, but these have been combined into four groups as follows:-

- (1) *Rural*="Agricultural" and "Dales" in Yorkshire, "Agricultural" in Oxfordshire.
- (2) *Industrial*="Colliery" and "Industrial" in Yorkshire, (none in Oxfordshire).
- (3) *Residential*="Suburban" in Yorkshire, "Residential" in Oxfordshire.
- (4) *Mixed*="Mixed" in both counties.

The results of the survey were originally calculated for each of the nine separate sub-groups, and wherever striking differences emerged either between the two counties or between two sub-groups which are combined into one group in the tables, these will be outlined in the text. By and large, however, such differences are rare, and in particular the performance of the two counties as a whole was very similar.

33. Table 8 analyses Oxfordshire and West Riding parish councils by both population and type, and shows clearly that the rural parishes, though numerically large, represent only a small part of the population living in parishes.

Nearly 60% of parishes with a parish council are classified as rural, but only a fifth of all people living in parishes live in the "rural" parishes. Of the 200 "small" parishes, with a population of below 500, no fewer than 169 are rural. Conversely, 45% of the population live in parishes classified as "industrial", despite these being components of "rural" districts. Many of these "industrial" parishes are large, and six parishes in the two counties have a population of more than 10,000. These are, of course, far larger than a number of urban districts and municipal boroughs.

Table 8: Analysis of parish councils

(a) By population

<i>Size-group</i>	<i>Parishes in each size-group</i>		<i>Population (1961)</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of all parishes</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of total pop. (all groups)</i>
0-500	200	45.0	61,027	10.5
500-1,000	107	24.1	73,719	12.7
1,000-2,500	87	19.6	139,474	24.0
2,500+	50	11.3	307,532	52.9
Totals	444	100.0	581,752	100.0

(b) By type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Parishes of each type</i>		<i>Population (1961)</i>		<i>Aver. pop.</i>	<i>No. with pop.</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of all parishes</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of total pop. (all types)</i>		<i>0-500</i>	<i>2500+</i>
Rural	255	57.4	125,376	21.6	492	169	—
Industrial	66	14.9	261,625	45.0	3,964	7	30
Residential	66	14.9	100,701	17.3	1,526	19	12
Mixed	57	12.8	94,050	16.2	1,650	5	8
Totals	444	(100.0)	581,752	(100.0)	1,310	200	50

Appendix 8

34. Table 9 analyses the 396 parish councils which sent positive replies to the postal survey. The overall response rate was very high indeed for a survey of this nature. The table shows that all types and sizes of parish were about equally represented among respondents. Among the sub-groups, the Yorkshire colliery villages had the lowest response rate (76%), and in order to throw some light on the reasons why some of the largest mining parishes failed to reply, a second letter was sent to two of them. One reply indicated that these parishes had not responded because they are so active that the typical part-time clerk is too busy to deal with questionnaires and the like. As one remarked: "there are several parishes practically large enough to be called urban districts where a part-time parish clerk such as myself has absolutely no time to deal with modern requirements".

Table 9: Analysis of respondents to surveys

(a) By population

Size-group	All P.C.s		Respondents		Response rate (%)
	No.	1961 pop.	No.	1961 pop.	
0-500	200	61,027	171	53,294	85.5
500-1,000	107	73,719	101	69,469	94.4
1,000-2,500	87	139,474	81	128,786	93.1
2,500+	50	307,532	43	253,872	86.0
Totals	444	581,752	396	505,421	89.2

(b) By type

Type	All P.C.'s		Respondents		Response rate (%)
	No.	1961 pop.	No.	1961 pop.	
Rural	255	125,376	225	115,200	88.2
Industrial	66	261,625	55	209,626	83.2
Residential	66	100,701	61	89,750	92.4
Mixed	57	94,050	55	90,845	96.5
Totals	444	581,752	396	505,421	89.2

(b) Election results

35. Information on the recent election results of each parish council was obtained from the clerks of the 21 West Riding and 6 Oxfordshire rural district councils. From their returns it was possible to derive the two indices of parish council electoral activity used earlier (paragraph 14)—the percentage of contested elections and the percentage of parishes which had fewer candidates than vacancies. These two indices are examined in Table 10.

Table 10: Performance at last election

(a) By population

Size-group	Contested election		Insufficient candidates	
	No.	% of group	No.	% of group
0-500	42	21.0	30	15.0
500-1,000	53	49.5	10	9.3
1,000-2,500	45	51.7	8	9.2
2,500+	30	60.0	2	4.0
Totals	170	38.3	50	11.3

(b) By type

Type	Contested election		Insufficient candidates	
	No.	% of group	No.	% of group
Rural	71	27.8	37	14.5
Industrial	26	39.4	2	3.0
Residential	36	54.5	6	9.1
Mixed	37	64.9	5	8.8
Totals	170	38.3	50	11.3

36. The first point to note is that parishes in these two counties are rather more active electorally than the national average. Table 3 showed a rate of contests for the whole country of 32%, and a shortfall of candidates in 22% of parishes. In the latter case, in particular, these two counties are very untypical, performing twice as well as the average. The shortage of candidates was particularly rare in the West Riding, where it occurred in only 7% of parishes, as against 17% in Oxfordshire. Both counties had a similar rate of contests, however.

37. Perhaps the most striking fact to emerge from Table 10 is the very close association between size of parish and electoral performance. There is a steady progression in the level of contests between the four population groups, the largest parishes being three times as likely to record a contest as the smallest. Similarly, the proportion of parishes with a shortage of candidates falls steadily as population rises, and this time the largest group performs almost four times as well as the smallest.

38. The national analysis of electoral returns suggested that there exists a relationship between electoral activity and the degree of rurality of the area (paragraph 17 and Table 4). Table 10 confirms this broad conclusion for the country as a whole. The rural parishes had both the lowest level of contests and the greatest shortfall of candidates, and each of the three less rural groups performed at least 50% better than the rural category. At the sub-group level, one exception to this general trend did emerge. In the West Riding the industrial villages (not to be confused with the mining ones) showed a marked lack of electoral vitality. Their proportion of contests (14%) was lower than that of any other sub-group, and they also had an above-average rate of shortage of candidates. However, this sub-group contains only 21 parishes, too small a sample for great weight to be put on these results. The general picture emerging from Table 10 is not impaired. The more populous and urbanised parishes have a higher level of electoral activity than the sparsely populated rural areas.

39. There are a few parishes in both counties where not one candidate came forward at the last election. In these villages the council in consequence remains a hope rather than a reality, unless there were sufficient retiring members to be deemed re-elected under the Parish Council Election Rules¹. In all, there were 7 parishes where no candidates at all came forward out of the 444 in the two counties (or 1.6%), and these may be said to be totally inactive electorally.

(c) Council meetings

40. Table 11 examines a related aspect of parish council activity: the frequency of council meetings. The table analyses those councils which hold full meetings at least monthly, and, allowing for a break in August, this means that councils had to report holding 22 or more meetings in the last two years in order to qualify for inclusion. In order to avoid overloading it, the questionnaire did not ask for details of the committee structure (if any) of each parish council. It is known that a great many councils have no standing committees, and that even where there are committees most of the business is transacted at full council meetings. Parish council meetings are therefore considerably more important, relatively, than full council meetings of other types of local authority, and their frequency is consequently a more reliable index of activity.

41. Not surprisingly, the table shows most clearly that the frequency of meetings increases with the size of population. Nine out of every ten large parishes have councils meeting at least monthly, as compared with only one in sixteen of the small ones. Rural parish councils meet far less frequently than their more urbanised colleagues, though the sub-group of dales parish councils in fact returned a proportion of 30% meeting monthly, a figure almost as high as that for councils serving residential and suburban villages. Although combined in Table 11, dales parishes thus perform rather differently from parishes in the "agricultural" sub-group.

1. S.I. 91/1952, paragraph 13 (4).

Table 11: Councils meeting at least monthly**(a) By population**

<i>Size-group</i>	<i>No. replying</i>	<i>Meetings at least monthly</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>% of councils in group which replied</i>
0-500	167	10	6.0
500-1,000	100	29	29.0
1,000-2,500	80	48	60.0
2,500+	42	37	88.1
Totals	389	124	31.9

(b) By type

<i>Type</i>	<i>No. replying</i>	<i>Meetings at least monthly</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>% of councils in group which replied</i>
Rural	220	37	16.8
Industrial	54	40	74.1
Residential	60	20	33.3
Mixed	55	27	49.1
Totals	389	124	31.9

(d) Annual parish meetings

42. By law, a parish meeting must be called every year in March, even in those parishes with a council. The parish meeting is composed of all the local government electors for the parish who wish to attend, and it may discuss parish affairs and pass resolutions. Its powers are not confined to passing motions which it has no power to carry into effect. Certain activities of the parish council must also be approved by the parish meeting—for example, the council cannot undertake any expenditure financed by loan without such approval.

43. The attendance at the annual assembly is therefore a further indication of the level of interest in parish councils, and supplements the electoral returns analysed earlier. The questionnaire asked clerks of parish councils to give the attendance figures for both 1966 and 1967. In the latter year, it should be noted that the National Association of Parish Councils initiated a series of annual campaigns to get more people to attend these meetings. This should be borne in mind when comparing the results of this inquiry for the two years which appear in Table 12.

Table 12: Attendance at annual parish meeting

(a) By population

Size-group	Parishes replying	Pop. (1961) of respondent parishes	Attendance in		% of pop. attending	
			1966	1967	1966	1967
0-500	168	52,590	1,824	2,081	3.5	4.0
500-1000	99	67,930	1,460	1,841	2.1	2.7
1,000-2,500	80	126,596	1,924	2,161	1.5	1.7
2,500+	43	253,872	920	1,289	0.4	0.5
Totals	390	500,988	6,128	7,372	1.2	1.5

(b) By type

Type	Parishes replying	Pop. (1961) of respondent parishes	Attendance in		% of pop. attending	
			1966	1967	1966	1967
Rural	220	112,957	2,732	3,219	2.4	2.8
Industrial	55	209,626	895	1,003	0.4	0.5
Residential	61	89,750	1,224	1,379	1.4	1.5
Mixed	54	88,655	1,277	1,771	1.4	2.0
Totals	390	500,988	6,128	7,372	1.2	1.5

44. One would expect a higher proportion of the population to attend the annual meeting in smaller parishes than in large ones, for attendance figures included councillors throughout. Councillors are presumably more likely than ordinary residents to attend this meeting, and even the smallest parish must have at least five councillors if it has a council at all. A large village can never have more than 21 councillors, even though it may be a dozen times larger than one with five. Thus a *minimum* of 1% of the population must be serving as councillors in a village of under 500 population, but in a village of over 2,000 population it is not possible for even this figure of 1% to be councillors.

45. This explains why, in Table 12, the smaller and rural parishes returned better levels of attendance, in terms of percentage of total population. High proportions were frequently recorded when the actual number was less than double figures. Because of this, it is perhaps more illuminating to consider

actual attendances, and in 1967 villages of under 500 recorded an average attendance of a dozen, those of over 1,000 one of almost thirty. About fifteen attended the average annual meeting in a "rural" parish, compared with twenty-five in the case of the three less rural types, when taken together.

(e) Parish councils as pressure groups

46. The postal questionnaire asked clerks to give details of matters discussed by their councils during the last two years which had led to representations being made to other bodies which were responsible for the matters in question. The object was to try to find out more about the representational role of parish councils, in particular, how far they act as area pressure groups. As a guide-line to the clerks, eight subject headings were given—highways, cars, nuisances, vandalism, planning, amenities, transport, charities. In addition, information on any other matters not included in the list was requested, (see Annex II for a reproduction of the questionnaire). In all cases clerks were asked to note the names of the bodies to whom letters were sent or representations made on each matter.

47. The very nature of the question precludes the possibility of any precise statistical analysis being made. This type of activity is not given to accurate quantification. Furthermore, some councils clearly made greater effort to provide comprehensive replies than others, but many of the more active ones were unable to list every incident and contented themselves with phrases such as "frequently" or "regularly". Some councils clearly do little in the way of acting as a local pressure group, but the vast majority have a very real role to play as representative rather than executive bodies. For example, in the last two years the 239 West Riding parishes which replied to this question sent something like 1,000 complaints about the state of the roads to the county council. These councils also, between them, were in contact with six government departments, seven public bodies (e.g. National Coal Board), and various other bodies such as the Royal Humane Society and the River Boards. Fifty-four parishes made complaints to the General Post Office.

48. An analysis of the replies to the questions on pressure-group activity has been undertaken at two levels. First, parish councils are classified as being active or non-active generally as pressure groups, and secondly councils which reported having made representations on each of nine separate subjects in the last two years have been isolated and classified according to their size and type. How the classifications were made is explained in the following paragraphs.

(i) The general analysis

49. The criteria used for the overall classification of parish councils as pressure groups cannot be described adequately in purely statistical terms. The form of many replies added to the difficulties of obtaining a fixed set of criteria, but in an effort to maintain an even standard all questionnaires were classified twice, and marginal ones a third time—always in a different order. Some account was taken of population size, because a larger parish can be expected to have more potential business to discuss, but generally a council had to discuss at least 12 different items, which usually would cover about seven or eight topics, to be classed as active. Similarly, if a council discussed fewer than six subjects it was likely to be classified as inactive.

Appendix 8

50. Of the 396 councils which replied to the questions on pressure group activity, 132 (33%) were considered to be active, and a further 109 (27%) inactive. In Table 13 these 241 parishes are classified according to their size and type, and once again a relationship between size, type and level of activity is apparent. Villages of over 2,500 population are twice as likely to be active as those of less than 500 population, whilst the latter are two-and-a-half times as likely to be inactive. But the most active group is not in fact the largest. Just over half the parishes of between 100 and 2,500 population were classified as active, compared with 42% of the largest parishes.

Table 13: Parishes as pressure groups

(a) By population

<i>Size-group</i>	<i>Parishes responding</i>	<i>Active</i>		<i>Inactive</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>% of parishes in size-group</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of parishes in size-group</i>
0-500	171	37	21.6	61	35.7
500-1,000	101	36	35.6	26	25.7
1,000-2,500	81	41	50.6	16	19.8
2,500+	43	18	41.9	6	14.0
Totals	396	132	33.3	109	27.5

(b) By type

<i>Type</i>	<i>Parishes responding</i>	<i>Active</i>		<i>Inactive</i>	
		<i>No.</i>	<i>% of parishes in type-group</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>% of parishes in type-group</i>
Rural	225	56	24.9	78	34.7
Industrial	55	28	50.1	8	14.5
Residential	61	26	42.6	13	21.3
Mixed	55	22	40.0	10	18.2
Totals	396	132	33.3	109	27.5

51. Rural villages again appear considerably less active than any of the three other types of parish. In this case it is the industrial group which returns the best performance, in terms of the proportion of both active and inactive councils, but both the mixed and the residential groups have proportions far closer to the industrial than to the rural parishes. The differences between the four groups in Table 13 are, however, somewhat less marked than in the earlier tables relating to both elections and council meetings.

(ii) **The issues discussed**

52. The classification of the overall performance of parish councils in their representational role was supplemented by a more detailed analysis of the actual issues discussed at council meetings. This was done by dividing the likely topics into eight broad classes, and in each case isolating those respondents which reported some activity in the last two years. A ninth class consisted of "other" subjects not included under any of the eight main headings. For each of the nine classes those councils reporting activity were then analysed according to their size and type.

53. The nine classes used correspond broadly to questions 4 and 5 on the questionnaire (see Annex II). Below is a brief explanation of matters included within each class:—

- (1) *State of roads and footpaths*—excluded road signs (2), and street lighting (9).
- (2) *Traffic management*—included speed limits, car parks, road signs and road safety. Excluded dumped cars (3).
- (3) *Nuisances*—included litter, dumping, derelict buildings, dirty ponds and ditches.
- (4) *Vandalism*—several instances had to be reported.
- (5) *Planning*—included vetting applications, attending public inquiries, requesting consultation, and so on. In Oxfordshire the county council consults all parishes on applications, and a stricter interpretation was used, whereby a parish had to state that it had sent in observations to the county council for its reply to be treated as positive¹.
- (6) *Amenities*—included Best Kept Village competitions, tree or flower planting, and references to tidying the village.
- (7) *Public transport*—excluded references to school buses (9), and bus shelters (9).
- (8) *Charities*—included both local charities and national appeals.
- (9) *Other*—included a wide range of matters. Most common were bus shelters, seats, lighting, commons registration, water supply, G.P.O. boxes and kiosks, war memorials and sewerage.

54. In Table 14 the parishes reporting activity under each of these nine headings are classified according to their size and type. As well as providing some additional evidence on the relationship between size and type and activity, this table also gives a valuable picture of the sort of subject which tends to be raised and discussed at meetings of parish councils.

1. See Annex 1 for a description of this scheme of consultation in Oxfordshire.

Table 14: Parishes reporting pressure group activity

(a) By population

Size-group	Number of parishes	Percentage reporting activity on:—								
		Roads/ Paths	Traffic management	Nuisances	Vandalism	Planning	Amenities	Transport	Charities	Other
0-500	171	92	69	67	26	55	44	54	35	81
500-1,000	101	97	83	77	47	62	50	57	39	85
1,000-2,500	81	96	86	91	60	73	56	69	52	90
2,500 +	43	98	100	88	74	67	37	88	47	86
Totals	396	95	80	77	43	62	47	62	41	84

(b) By type

Type	Number of parishes	Percentage reporting activity on:—								
		Roads/ Paths	Traffic manage- ment	Nuisan- ces	Vand- alism	Planning	Amenities	Trans- port	Charities	Other
Rural	225	93	72	69	31	55	47	52	40	81
Industrial	55	96	93	87	69	55	29	87	42	87
Residential	61	95	87	90	59	79	54	74	38	92
Mixed	55	100	89	85	53	78	60	64	47	87
Totals	396	95	80	77	43	62	47	62	41	84

55. The interesting thing about the more detailed breakdown of the results was that the individual counties returned remarkably similar figures. West Riding councils were more likely to encounter problems arising from vandalism and public transport, and Oxfordshire parishes took a keener interest in planning—due, no doubt, to the scheme of consultation over applications which the county council operates. But in the case of the six remaining headings, the proportions of active councils in each county were remarkably similar.

56. It is clear from Table 14 that problems of access and transport take up much of the time of parish councils of all sizes and types. Almost all discussed the state of roads and paths in the last two years with a view to making representations to the appropriate authority, 80% made representations about traffic management, and almost two-thirds discussed public transport. Nuisances and planning interested the majority, while the range of topics which have been classified under "other" is extremely wide, and in the West Riding alone they involved at least twenty-eight other bodies during this two-year period.

57. The table adds further support to the hypothesis that the level of activity is related to the size and type of parish. One would expect larger parishes to discuss more topics, and this is clearly confirmed. The differential between small and large parishes is narrow in the case of roads and amenities, but in no case does a higher proportion of small than large parishes discuss a topic. Similarly with the possible exception of charities, the proportion of rural parishes discussing each of the nine topics is smaller than that of the three less rural types of parish. The more detailed results did, however, produce one or two exceptions to this general trend. The most notable was the performance of the sub-group of dales villages, which returned consistently higher proportions of active councils than the agricultural parishes with which they are linked in Table 14. Dales parishes were particularly active in taking up questions on traffic management,

planning and amenities—probably a reflection of their recreational importance as tourist attractions. Colliery villages on the other hand, showed a marked lack of interest in both planning and local amenities—most likely because they had less amenities to protect than those in scenically attractive dales parishes.

(f) **An index of activity**

58. In an attempt to piece together all the information obtained from the four different sources (i.e. the questionnaire survey, rural district councils, the Ministry of Housing, and district auditors) about parish councils in Oxfordshire and the West Riding, a composite index of activity was constructed. The object was to isolate the active and inactive parishes, and to analyse these according to their size and type. The index was constructed out of the following six aspects:

- (1) Electoral activity.
- (2) Attendance at annual meeting.
- (3) Expenditure per head.
- (4) Pressure group activity.
- (5) Level of financial activity.
- (6) Written evidence given to the Royal Commission.

59. The second aspect, attendance at the annual meeting, was chosen rather than the frequency of council meetings because, as Table 11 shows, the frequency of meetings was too closely linked to a parish's population. The fifth aspect picked out those parishes which were distinguished from other parishes in their area by the amount or range of their activities, whether or not charged to public funds, and at the opposite pole those parishes whose financial activities were very small compared with their neighbours'.

60. In order to be classified as active or inactive, a parish had to record a high or low performance for any *three* of these six aspects. Table 15 indicates the required performance for each of the six headings.

Table 15: Index of activity—performance required under each head

<i>Aspect of Activity</i>	<i>Active Parish</i>	<i>Inactive Parish</i>
1. Last election	Contested	Fewer candidates than vacancies
2. Annual meeting attendance	5% of the population	No higher than no. of council
3. Expenditure	More than 10/- per head	Below 2/6d. per head
4. Pressure group activities	"Active" (see paragraph 49)	"Inactive" (see paragraph 49)
5. Level of financial activity	Particularly active	Largely inactive
6. Evidence to Commission	Evidence submitted	—

61. On this basis 82 parishes were classified as active (18.5%) and 69 as inactive (15.5%), out of the total of 444 in the two counties. In Table 16 these 151 parishes are analysed according to their size and type. In pulling together much of the information discussed above under separate headings, the index illustrates very strikingly the association between size of population and level of activity. The percentage of active parishes rises steadily with population, and similarly, the proportion of inactive ones declines regularly. Parishes with a population of more than 1,000 are six times more likely to be active than those of under 500, and twelve times less likely to be classified as inactive.

Table 16: Index of activity—performance

(a) By population

Size-group	Number of parishes	Active		Inactive	
		No.	% of parishes in size-group	No.	% of parishes in size-group
0-500	200	13	6.5	54	27.0
500-1,000	107	17	15.9	12	11.2
1,000-2,500	87	29	33.3	2	2.3
2,500 +	50	23	46.0	1	2.0
Totals	444	82	18.5	69	15.5

(b) By type

Type	Number of parishes	Active		Inactive	
		No.	% of parishes in type-group	No.	% of parishes in type-group
Rural	255	24	9.4	61	23.9
Industrial	66	22	33.3	3	4.5
Residential	66	18	27.3	4	6.1
Mixed	57	18	31.6	1	1.8
Totals	444	82	18.5	69	15.5

62. The second part of the table again confirms the link between rurality and activity. Industrial, residential and "mixed" parishes are three times as likely to be active, and four or five times less likely to be inactive, as rural villages. Within the sub-groups, the West Riding dales parishes performed rather better than the agricultural villages in the two counties, with 13.3% active and only 16.7% inactive. This, of course, follows from the earlier discussion of both pressure group activities and the frequency of council meetings, where this sub-group was noted as exceptional in returning a high performance.

63. An analysis of Census data revealed a further feature of the inactive parishes—population decline. Between 1951 and 1961 the population of 42 of the 69 inactive parishes fell, and in most other cases the increase was at a very low level. By way of contrast, about half of the 82 active parishes were undergoing a rapid increase in this period—34 of them had a rise of more than 10% in this decade, or rather more than twice the national average. These are usually the expanding quasi-suburban villages, where recent migrants from the cities continue to demand an urban standard of services, and where consequently greater problems face the local authorities, and greater interest is taken in the activities of the parish council.

IV. THE LARGER PARISHES—A CASE STUDY

64. A special study was also made of eight of the larger parishes in the two counties of Oxfordshire and the West Riding. The eight parishes were selected on the basis of two main criteria. First they had to be large (population range 2,500 to 13,000), and urban or semi-urban by nature, so that they might be physically as comparable as possible to existing urban authorities. Second, in order to make as thorough an assessment as possible, only those which had replied in reasonable detail to the postal questionnaire could be included. It should also be noted that all eight selected also happened to be "active", but as Table 16 reveals, this does not entail undue bias since only a small minority (2.0%) of the larger parishes were actually "inactive".

65. In Table 17 the basic statistics of the eight parishes are given. Only two of the eight are in Oxfordshire, simply because there are very few large parishes in that county as compared with the West Riding. An indication of the urban nature of the parishes selected is shown by their population densities in column 3. Five of them have a population density greater than the English average (315 persons per 100 acres) for free-standing towns of under 50,000. The final column, giving the type of parish, is based on the classification undertaken for the Commission by the two local secretaries of the county Associations of Parish Councils. Three of the eight are classified as suburban, two as mining and three as mixed—these being parishes where no one economic characteristic is dominant.

Table 17: Basic statistics—larger parishes

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Population 1961</i>	<i>Area (acres)</i>	<i>Density (pop. per 100 acres)</i>	<i>Type of parish</i>
Oxfordshire				
Kidlington	8,514	2,161	394	Mixed
Littlemore	8,259	669	1,233	Suburban
West Riding				
Ackworth	4,089	2,645	155	Mixed
Boston Spa	2,426	880	270	Suburban
Bradfield	13,014	35,133	37	Mixed
Brierley	8,259	2,583	318	Mining
Stainforth	7,361	2,218	334	Mining
Wickersley	5,029	1,273	396	Suburban

(b) Activities as executive bodies

66. Details of expenditure obtained both from the Ministry of Housing and from the questionnaires indicate that these larger councils are heavy spenders, by parish standards at any rate. Parish councils' financial powers are severely limited. They may precept for up to a 4d. rate themselves, but must obtain the permission of the annual parish meeting before a higher rate may be levied. In addition, the Minister must approve any parish rate in excess of 8d. in the pound. Even the 1963 Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act allows the expenditure of only a fifth of a penny rate (the "free fifth") for the good of the

community on anything which cannot be provided under another Act. A rate of a fifth of a penny raises such a small amount in the average parish that the Act does little in practice to lift the severe limitations on the executive activities of parish councils. In Table 18 details of the overall expenditure of the eight councils are given, and it can be seen that in 1966-67 two of the eight did in fact precept for a rate in excess of 8d. in the pound, while a further four precepted for more than 4d. in the pound.

Table 18: Expenditure figures—larger parishes

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Precept 1966-7 (d. in the £)</i>	<i>Gross. exp. 1964-5 (£)</i>	<i>Exp. per head 1964-5 (s.)</i>
Kidlington	7d.	6,843	16
Littlemore	4d.	3,960	10
Ackworth	11d.	3,695	18
Boston Spa	6d.	1,305	11
Bradfield	5d.	10,354	16
Brierley	1/1d.	13,318	32
Stainforth	2d.	7,304	20
Wickersley	8d.	2,930	12

67. The same table also shows that two parish councils spent a pound or more per head of population in 1964-65, and this compares with the national average of 7/- per head for all parishes. The level of expenditure varies quite widely in these eight parishes, ranging from 10/- to 32/- per head, but all eight were spending at a level of at least 50% above the national average.

68. The gross expenditure figures for 1964-65 given in the table above were obtained from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government along with a limited breakdown of the total amounts. In addition, each council was asked to give the main items of expenditure it incurred in 1965-66, including only those items which tended to recur annually. From these two sources, which in most cases tallied to a large extent, a reasonably accurate indication of expenditure on current account has been obtained, and a first breakdown of this is made in Table 19.

Table 19: Main items of expenditure 1965-6, current account—larger parishes

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Clerk's salary</i>	<i>Street lighting</i>	<i>Burial</i>	<i>Playing fields</i>	<i>Allotments</i>	<i>Other</i>
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Kidlington	300	4,000	725	3,500	20	130
Littlemore	275	2,450	—	1,450	100	650
Ackworth	150	2,100	875	1,200	20	—
Boston Spa	100	710	—	100	—	100
Bradfield	470	—	1,800	1,750	—	5,000
Brierley	520	5,600	3,100	5,700	210	330
Stainforth	320	3,800	1,900	1,020	10	—
Wickersley	120	3,000	—	—	—	150

69. The table shows that most large parishes tend to spend the bulk of their money on the more normal functions of parish councils. In Bradfield and Wickersley the local rural district councils appear to maintain street lights and playing fields respectively. The low level of expenditure on allotments is interesting to note, especially as this is perhaps the most often quoted of parish council functions.

70. The final column of "other" expenditure in Table 19 contains a wide variety of items, and in some cases includes a fairly substantial proportion of the total. The following is a brief description of the items making up this figure for each of the parishes, and also included is a note of any major items of capital expenditure undertaken in recent years:

Kidlington: In 1965-66 spent £40 on litter bins, £40 on parish property and £25 on seats. The "free fifth" has been used in seven different ways, including prizes for best kept allotments, subscriptions to local organisations, a litter campaign, chairman's expenses, and the establishment of a citizens' advice bureau. The council has its own shrub nursery, and is responsible for verge cutting. Two full-time and four part-time staff are employed in addition to the clerk and his part-time secretary.

Littlemore: Spent £350 on tree and flower planting on roadside verges, £100 on bus shelters, £120 on a community centre, and £50 on seats. The "free fifth" was used to run a garden competition.

Ackworth: Has recently purchased a former doctor's surgery and converted it into a pensioners' recreation room. It is hoped to open a luncheon club there to supplement meals on wheels, which the council also supports.

Boston Spa: The council produces and circulates an annual report which includes reports from the numerous societies and clubs active in the village. Grants are made towards the upkeep of the Scouts' Hall; trees and flowers are planted; and in 1965-66 the council spent £15 on bus shelters, £15 on footpaths and £20 on a Christmas tree. Almost £1,500 has been spent on two new tennis courts, and a pavilion is being built in the playing field. This is one of the most active councils found in the two counties, and the Clerk asked the district auditor about the possibility of the council obtaining powers to run an information service under section 134 of the 1948 Local Government Act.

Bradfield: The council provides its own recreation ground despite the fact that the rural district council makes provision for this in other parishes. Seven bus shelters have been erected and it is planned to signpost 100 miles of foot-paths. £7,000 has recently been spent on a playing field and £6,000 on an old chapel which has been converted into a council chamber and a caretaker's flat.

Brierley: The council has been refused permission by the Minister to provide its own swimming baths on grounds of insufficient resources (the rural district council is now doing it). The council has been spending up to £1,000 per annum in recent years on developing roadside verges, and plans to erect a community centre and to provide flower baskets on all lamp posts. Prizes for the best-kept allotments are given.

Appendix 8

Stainforth: Has powers to provide entertainments delegated to it by the rural district council. It recently spent £120 on a chairman's chain of office and jewel.

Wickersley: In 1965-66 this council spent £50 on seats, £70 on grants to local bodies, and £30 on a Christmas tree.

71. Although the provision of seats and bus shelters recurs fairly frequently, this synopsis nevertheless reveals that almost any reasonably active large parish has at least one "unusual" item of expenditure. Furthermore, as Bradfield's council chamber, Boston Spa's tennis courts, and even Brierley's abortive attempt to build a swimming bath indicate, these larger parishes are able to undertake quite substantial capital programmes. At the other end of the scale, expenditure of a few pounds on items of amenity like seats, tree and flower planting and bus shelters are common to almost all the parishes examined.

(c) Public Interest

72. The level of public interest in the work of these eight parish councils is naturally an elusive characteristic to measure. All that can be done in a study such as this is to take whatever measures are easily available, and here two such aspects are considered. These relate to the performance at the last election, obtained from the clerks to the rural districts, and the attendance at two recent annual parish meetings, obtained through the postal questionnaire. The results of these two enquiries are given in Table 20.

Table 20: Public interest in the councils—larger parishes

Parish	Pop. 1961	Last election		Attendance at annual parish meetings	
		Seats	Candidates	1966	1967
Kidlington	8,514	16	25	36	116
Littlemore	8,259	21	25	30	70
Ackworth	4,089	11	22	27	31
Boston Spa	2,426	9	11	33	35
Bradfield	13,014	13	17	18	69
Brierley	8,259	13	19	15	28
Stainforth	7,361	15	30	22	19
Wickersley	5,029	11	22	28	22

73. With all eight parishes recording contested elections, electoral interest in these large parishes is clearly high, and well above the national parish council average. In the two counties as a whole, by way of contrast, only 38% of all parish council elections were contested last time (see above, Table 10). The comparatively large number of candidates in relation to seats, especially in the three parishes where there were exactly twice as many candidates as seats, should also be noted.

74. As measured by attendance figures at the annual meetings, interest does not appear to be as high as in parish councils generally. Six of the eight did, nevertheless, record at least one attendance of more than 25, and this is something like four times the mean average attendance (6) for all other types of local authority council meetings¹. One or two replies made it clear that the vagaries of the weather tended to keep attendances low on some occasions—for example “heavy snow” was reported by Bradfield as a reason for the poor 1966 figure.

(d) Pressure group activities

75. The questionnaire asked parish council clerks to describe briefly all instances in the past two years where the council had discussed matters over which it had no powers itself, and had written to the responsible authorities or bodies as a result. It was earlier seen that this representational role plays an important part in the lives of the vast majority of parish councils. In the case of the average small council, the task of providing the information requested was not difficult, as perhaps only ten or fifteen examples had occurred. For the larger parishes, such as the eight being studied here, the request was clearly more difficult, if not impossible, in view of the sheer volume of business transacted. As a result, in the case of the more normal items—such as roads and paths—many clerks restricted their replies to brief summaries such as “frequently—to the appropriate body”.

76. To analyse the activities of these eight parishes as area pressure groups is therefore no simple task, and the form of some of the replies makes it impossible to give an accurate estimate of the number of representations which resulted from the various discussions. Each of the eight main headings used earlier (see paragraph 53) was isolated, and all eight councils had discussed four of these—roads, traffic management, amenities and nuisances. Seven had made representations on planning, and six on both public transport and vandalism. Of the subjects usually cited by parishes as a whole in the two counties, only charities had taken up little time at meetings, though in the case of the other subjects the volume of business clearly varied considerably from parish to parish.

77. The ninth heading used earlier was the composite one of “other”, which included any topic which did not come under the eight main headings. Each of the larger councils being studied here had made a number of representations about matters which could only be included under this miscellaneous heading, and the list below, containing only a selection of items, in the case of some of the most active councils, illustrates the variety of business coming before council meetings:

Kidlington: Made representations about the maintenance of canal towpaths, library opening hours, postal services, the need for public conveniences, the ambulance service, and unsightly overhead cables.

Littlemore: One of the most active in making representations. A brief selection includes G.P.O. services, mass radiography, fire precautions, housing, meals on wheels, refuse collection, civil defence, and public conveniences.

1. This figure excludes school children and organised parties and is calculated from Table XLIX, *Report of the Committee on the Management of Local Government*, Volume 5, page 585.

Appendix 8

Ackworth: Sends a monthly report to the county surveyor on roads, drains, gullies and footpaths in the parish.

Boston Spa: Rivals Littlemore for breadth of activity. In conjunction with the county planning department's proposed Village Plan, the council assisted in a survey of every house in the parish. After a long "battle" the rural district council agreed to refer all planning applications to parish councils for comment.

Bradfield: Has also made many suggestions about planning, although the rural district will not refer applications to the council for comment.

Brierley: Got the rural district to build swimming baths when the parish was refused permission. The council has been trying to obtain land to convert into a park.

Stainforth: Has pressed for a footbridge over the river, contacted the Water Board about pressure, and written to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government about a swimming pool which the rural district proposed to erect.

Wickersley: Pressed for consultations on planning applications, obtained legal advice over the closure of a footpath, and urged the rural district and county councils to make up roads under the Private Street Works Act.

78. An analysis of the replies indicates clearly that this form of activity plays an important part in the life of the larger parish councils. At the same time, however, these parishes also spend considerable amounts of money and as a result the proportion of time at council meetings spent on representational activities is probably lower than in the case of the typical rural parish, which tends to engage in fewer executive responsibilities.

(e) Views on local government reorganisation

79. It is a fair presumption that any parish council interested enough to submit its own evidence to the Royal Commission is also one that probably has a sense of identity and is conscious of the needs and problems of its area. In this respect the submission of evidence may be seen as an indication of activity. A special study was therefore made of the evidence submitted to the Royal Commission by these eight councils.

80. All but two of the eight (Brierley and Wickersley) did submit evidence, though in the case of Bradfield this consisted of no more than a resolution passed at the annual parish meeting. The Yorkshire Association of Parish Councils suggested that each member authority put such a resolution, simply expressing faith in parish councils and requesting that they be retained as an essential part of the machinery of rural local government, before the annual parish meeting for approval. More than ninety parishes in the county subsequently forwarded these resolutions to the Commission.

81. The remaining five councils all submitted more substantial documents, and all five, not surprisingly, favoured the continuation of parish councils. Ackworth concentrated solely on this, raising six objections to any new system of local government which abolishes parish councils. These were, briefly, that there would be a lack of personal contact between electors and their representatives, that the latter might live well away from the villages in their area, that

parish councils undertake valuable voluntary work, that the council always has contested elections (said to be proof of local interest), that experienced councillors would be denied the chance of giving service, and that remote administration would increase costs and therefore rates. Littlemore's and Stainforth's evidence ranged rather more widely. Stainforth supported not only parishes but the whole of the existing three-tier system in rural areas, largely because this system appears to the council to be the best for obtaining balanced representation in areas with scattered centres of population. Littlemore suggested that parish councils be retained in rural areas and established in urban areas at the request of residents.

82. Stainforth also went further in suggesting that improvements to the present system were possible. In particular a redistribution of functions was favoured, with wider powers of delegation, though no particular services were mentioned. Boston Spa also called for a redistribution of responsibilities. The council favoured the compulsory notification of planning applications to all parish councils, an increase in the level of expenditure permitted under the Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act 1963—at present restricted to a fifth of a penny rate—and the extension to parishes of powers under Section 134 of the Local Government Act 1948 so that the council could provide an information service and newsletter without having to use the 1963 Act. Boston Spa's approach was mirrored by Kidlington, who suggested that parish councils should be relieved of the necessity of obtaining the consent of the annual parish meeting before levying a rate of more than 4d. Kidlington also proposed an extension of powers to cover the naming of streets, footpath signs, street cleansing (in larger parishes), and a number of other functions, as well as the raising of the one-fifth of a penny limit.

83. The underlying theme in all this evidence is a desire for parishes to play a greater role, particularly in planning. It is clear that some at least of the larger parishes are frustrated by their lack of statutory powers. As these are parishes as large as many existing urban districts, this sense of frustration is perhaps only to be expected.

(f) Conclusion

84. Despite limited powers, the wide range and the considerable extent of activity found in these eight parishes is the overwhelming point to emerge from this brief survey. It is important to bear in mind that all of these activities are voluntary, for parish council powers are all permissive. In this sense the level of activity is largely a reflection of spontaneous demand, and it is interesting to note that most activities lie in the direction of providing better amenities for the community and representing its collective interests before other public authorities.

ANNEX I

Consultations with parish councils on planning applications

1. This annex describes two schemes, in Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire, whereby parish councils are consulted by the county on planning applications affecting their areas. Reference is also made to schemes in other counties, but no claim is made that this annex constitutes a comprehensive survey of all the schemes in operation throughout the country.

The Oxfordshire scheme

2. In Oxfordshire applicants for planning permission are requested to send a summary of their application direct to the parish council concerned at the same time as they submit the formal application to the planning authority. Applicants are told that if they do not do this "there may be delay in dealing with your application", and on the application form there is a space in which the date the summary was sent to the parish council must be inserted. The county council issues to all applicants a standard form on which the relevant particulars of the proposed development must be given, and attached to this form is a list of the names and addresses of the various parish correspondents.

3. Each parish council is supplied with a list of dates by which comments should be sent to the area planning office if they are to be included on the agenda. In addition, the county issues a duplicated form on which comments or objections should be made by the parish, and a tear-off slip on the bottom of this is returned to the parish, giving the decision reached by the area committee but not the reasons for the decision.

4. The county council assumes that the parish has no comments unless it hears to the contrary. Thus the burden for the operation of the scheme is placed first on the developer and secondly on the parish. The cost to the county is minimal, and there is no delay in dealing with applications as it is entirely up to the parish to send in any comments before the deadline is reached. It is doubtful whether such a scheme can be described accurately as "consultation", since the planning authority does nothing beyond returning the tear-off slip.

5. The scheme began in 1963, initially as a one year experiment. It was decided in 1964 to continue with it indefinitely. At present virtually every one of the 170 or so parish councils participates, as do about two dozen parish meetings out of some 65. Parish meetings are only included at their specific request, whereas councils are automatically listed unless they do not even show enough interest to give in the name and address of a clerk or other correspondent.

6. The only major amendment made to the scheme since 1963 is that, following a meeting in 1966 between the county association of parish councils and the county council, applicants are now asked to include copies of the detailed plans and elevations when writing to the parish. This followed criticism by many parishes that they were given insufficient information to make any informed comment on proposed developments. Despite this amendment, three Oxfordshire parish councils replied to the Commission's own questionnaire (see Annex II) on parish council "activity" that insufficient information was given, and a fourth suggested that the enclosure of these details be made compulsory instead of permissive. Seven other councils made adverse comments about the scheme and these included criticisms of delay by applicants in sending details to the parish; of non-receipt of certain applications; of insufficient notice being taken of parish comments; and of the way in which some applications were changed without reference back to the parish for further comments.

The Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely scheme

7. The scheme operating in Cambridgeshire began in 1962 and was extended to the Isle of Ely when the two counties were amalgamated in 1965. In this case it is the county council which itself notifies all parishes of planning applications by sending a standard letter giving details of the proposed development at the

bottom. The letter goes to every parish, whether large enough to have a council or not, and replies are requested within 15 days. In this way no delays in deciding on applications are experienced, because during these two weeks county council staff are processing them and preparing agendas.

8. As in Oxfordshire, parishes are notified of the decisions made by the appropriate committee. The basic difference between the Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire schemes is that in Oxfordshire it is the developer who notifies the parish whereas in Cambridgeshire it is the planning authority itself. This does at least overcome the objection made by some Oxfordshire parishes that in certain cases no details of applications are ever received.

9. The chairman of the Cambridgeshire planning committee and an officer in the county planning department undertook a six-month survey of the working of the scheme in the period January-June 1964¹. During this period there were 1,058 applications for development in the three rural districts, and all but ten of the 124 parishes received details of one or more applications from the county council. Comments were received by the county council on only 30.3% of these applications, despite the county council's standard letter requesting a reply on every one. However, when applications were classified as "major" or "minor" it emerged that comments were made on 58.4% of major proposals, as against only 23.5% of minor ones.

10. Larger parishes were found to reply slightly more frequently than smaller ones, but 36 of the 114 made no response at all. Usually parishes tended either to reply fairly regularly or not at all, and this is reflected by the fact that almost half of all replies were negative, that is to say they merely stated that they had "no objection" or "no comment". Of the positive comments, just over half were acted upon by the committee concerned, which means that in about 6% of applications the parish did have some effect on the decision reached. It should be noted that the vast majority of planning applications are straightforward and that about 80% are granted.

Other schemes

11. Very similar schemes to that of Cambridgeshire are operated in both Kesteven and Berkshire. But in Kesteven the parishes are not formally notified of the results of applications, and in Berkshire consultation is between rural district and parish. Berkshire delegates a wide measure of development control to all its district councils, and it persuaded every rural district to notify parishes of applications.

12. In the rest of the country the pattern is more complicated. In many counties development control is delegated, and the local parish councils association has to deal with each individual rural district. The National Association of Parish Councils has held formal talks with the Rural District Councils Association and two alternative methods of consultation were proposed. The first follows closely the Cambridgeshire scheme, and the second is to send each parish a copy of the planning committee's agenda. However, neither scheme has been formally adopted by all the rural districts concerned although it appears that a number do consult their parishes. The N.A.P.C. estimates that in only about one third of rural districts is there no consultation whatsoever. Some individual rural district schemes date well back into the 1950s.

1. "Planning Applications and Parish Councils", *Parish Councils Review*, Summer, 1965.

ANNEX II
QUESTIONNAIRE

Royal Commission on Local Government in England
Matters dealt with by Parish Councils

1. Name of the Parish Council.
2. Number of parish councillors.
3. How many times has the full Parish Council met in the past two years?
4. If your Council has considered any of the following subjects in the past two years, please write a very few words against the subject concerned, saying what it was about and whether representations were made about it to the R.D.C., County Council, government department or other public authority.
 - (a) HIGHWAYS—roads and/or footpaths.
 - (b) CARS—including such things as speed limits, parking (e.g. on village green) etc.
 - (c) NUISANCES—e.g. litter, rubbish dumps, derelict buildings, ponds, ditches, etc.
 - (d) VANDALISM—by children or others.
 - (e) PLANNING—
 - (i) planning applications.
 - (ii) the planning authority's development plan for the area.
 - (f) Best kept village competitions and things such as tree and flower planting.
 - (g) PUBLIC TRANSPORT—Bus services or fares—rail closures, etc.
 - (h) LOCAL CHARITIES
5. Please mention any other matters of importance affecting the parish which your Council has considered in the past two years; particularly matters on which you have had to write to other authorities.
 - (a)
 - (b)
 - (c)
 - (d)
 - (etc.)
6. Please list the major items, e.g. Clerk's salary, Lighting, Allotments, Burial Grounds, Playing Fields or Playgrounds, etc. on which your Council *has to spend money every year*, giving the gross expenditure on each item in 1965/66. (Except for the Clerk's salary your Financial Statement should give this.)
7. How many parish meetings were called by the parish council in the last two years?
8. How many people, including councillors, came to the Annual Parish Meeting—
 - (a) in 1966?
 - (b) in 1967?

Signed

Clerk

Date:

APPENDIX 9

GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND THE STRUCTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

1. The aim of this appendix is to summarise the findings of reports on local government services where they relate to the size of unit necessary for effective execution of the service and to other matters relevant to the Commission's terms of reference. Only those published since 1950 are considered, and, with the exception of the Porritt Report, they are government-sponsored. Legislation arising out of the recommendations of these reports is not covered. The emphasis given to the question of size and the nature of the approach varies enormously between reports. Generally speaking, the earlier the report the less explicit are the recommendations on size of area. The reports on planners and on the maternity and library services made during the 1950's are prefaced by statements that their terms of reference preclude any discussion of administrative structure; thereafter, there appears to be a tendency to discuss areas, particularly the deficiencies of small units of local government. In contrast, the Royal Commission on the Police, 1960-62, was explicit in recommending larger areas and precise on the size of these in terms of population.

2. Other enquiries covered in this appendix, including the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London (the Herbert Report), and the Local Government Commission for England, have a rather different starting point. They are, of course, usually directly concerned with relating area to function but they are also concerned with particular areas. Thus, although certain general principles are stated, it must be remembered that their recommendations are also based on considerations of social geography. Although Greater London is outside the Commission's terms of reference, reports which deal with the area, such as the Herbert Report, are included where they seem to be relevant. Similarly, reports for Scotland are also considered.

3. The general drift of the recommendations of most reports has been towards larger units of administration. This is particularly the case for those functions associated with planning: transport, highways, overspill housing and major redevelopment. Problems in these fields were seen to transcend present local authority boundaries. The demand for specialist staffs and for speed of execution of projects would, it was thought, also be met more readily with larger areas. Larger units were suggested for education, sewerage, water, refuse disposal, library and police services, on the grounds of efficiency. This does not mean that the sizes recommended were of the same order. At the one extreme, the Steering Committee of the Buchanan Report recommend *ad hoc* redevelopment agencies on an urban-region scale; at the other, the Bourdillon Committee on Libraries suggest minimum units of 30,000. A few reports recommend smaller local authorities but these suggestions were confined to the personal social

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services: health, welfare, children, certain aspects of education and housing. In these services the demands of co-ordination and the need for personal contact were seen to place limits on size.

4. This appendix is arranged under functional headings. A list of all the reports covered is given in an annex.

II. GENERAL

5. Since 1950 there have been two important enquiries which examined the local government service as a whole, and do not fit easily into any functional category. For this reason they are considered first. They are the reports of the Committees, on the Management and Staffing of Local Government.

6. The recommendations of the Committee on Management (the Maud Committee) (1967) were primarily concerned with maintaining the quality of elected members and principal officers, and the report focuses on the internal arrangements of local authorities and relations between local government and the general public. But there was one aspect of the recommendations which does have a direct bearing on the structure of local government. This concerns relations between central and local government. Here the committee saw an opportunity to attract good councillors by relaxing the existing central controls to enable local authorities to exercise greater discretion in policy making. But the committee recognized that the present machinery was itself partly the result of the existing structure in that the smaller authorities oblige central government to intervene in order to achieve minimum standards and this intervention has to apply to all authorities. Reorganisation of the structure of local government to create financially strong local authorities should, in the committee's view, provide the opportunity for the relaxation of central control.

7. The Committee on Staffing (the Mallaby Committee) (1967) drew attention to the fact that, in its field, the practice of linking the salaries of an authority's principal officers to its population size places small authorities at a disadvantage in recruiting subordinate staff, notably specialists, whose salaries are not linked in this way. The committee thought, too, that any larger local authorities which resulted from reorganisation of local government would have a marked effect in improving the career structure open to local government officers. Otherwise, however, this committee was not convinced that, in itself, size of authority was significant in attracting recruits to professional posts.

III. PLANNING

8. All reports on planning have expressed some doubt on the ability of some local authorities under the present system to achieve an integrated development of the environment.

9. The Report on the Qualifications of Planners (the Schuster Report) (1950) was mainly concerned with the qualifications and deployment of planning staff. The committee was obviously unwilling to be overtly critical as it was reporting so soon after the 1947 Act. It suggested that all planning authorities needed some specialisation of staff: a small number of people capable of advising on major issues; experts with specialist skills (economists and sociologists, for example, as

well as architects and planners); and junior staff. The committee commented that "small authorities might not be able to achieve division of staff on these lines". Attention was drawn to the difficulties resulting from the disparity between sizes and types of authority, with similar responsibilities and functions. Small authorities might have complex problems, yet be unable to have a specialist planning department due to lack of resources. The committee stated that they were unwilling to prescribe in matters of organisation but in their view the overall responsibility for planning should be vested in one officer.

10. The Herbert Report (1960), and the Local Government Commission reports on the York and North Midlands (1964), Merseyside (1965), South East Lancashire (1965) and Tyneside (1963) review areas all stressed the need for larger planning units over areas which have unity in terms of movements of population, traffic and other overlapping activities common to urban areas. Arguments for large scale planning were usually couched in terms of the need for positive development and co-ordination on common problems. The Herbert Report particularly condemned delegation of planning to county districts. The Local Government Commission report on the York and North Midlands General Review Area stressed the necessity of including fringe areas with urban centres for planning purposes. When two-tier systems were recommended, as in the Herbert and Tyneside¹ reports, the lower tier was given responsibilities for planning control, as this was thought to demand detailed knowledge of, and good relationships with, local interests.

11. It should perhaps be noted that these arguments for large scale planning were rejected by the Local Government Commission's reports for the West Midlands and the West Yorkshire special review areas (1961 and 1964) in favour of autonomous planning powers for existing or enlarged authorities. A joint board, with representatives of the authorities concerned, was suggested for dealing with the problem of overspill and for the purposes of research in the West Midlands.

12. Regional studies produced by, or for, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Department of Economic Affairs were, by their very nature, concerned with the planning needs of regions as a whole. The North West and West Midlands studies (both 1965), however, made particular reference to the existing local government structure and its incapacity to realise regional planning objectives. The North West study referred to the existing local government structure and suggested that the large number of different planning authorities was one of the reasons why there was a particular need in the North West for a long-term planning strategy. The study drew attention to the importance of the area between the two major conurbations and stated that this area should be planned as a unit. "Positive planning might create a new kind of city region with a balanced employment structure and easy access to attractive countryside". 'Strategy II: the North West in the 1970s' (1968) also said "We think it most

1. The Minister of Housing and Local Government rejected the L.G.C.E.'s proposals for Tyneside and in February 1966 proposed a single Tyneside county borough. A public inquiry was held in June and July 1966 and the Minister, after receiving the Inspector's report, sought the views of the Royal Commission, which had by then been appointed. Following this consultation, the Minister decided to take no action on the reorganisation of local government on Tyneside before the publication of the Royal Commission's report.

important that any recommendations of the Royal Commission on Local Government which have the effect of substantially reducing the number of local authorities should be considered for very rapid implementation because uncertainty will hold up progress most seriously in a region with so many local authorities." The West Midlands study, while stating that the present and proposed local government organisation was outside its terms of reference, doubted the ability of the present or, at that time, proposed changes in the local government structure of the Black Country and Potteries areas to cope with the planning problems that the region faced.

13. The first report of the East Anglia economic planning council, 'East Anglia: a Study' (1968) identified four city regions in its area which were meaningful in economic and physical planning terms. These were not proposed as administrative units for local government purposes. But the report urged that consideration of future economic and physical planning decisions within this framework should not be nullified by the fact of existing local government boundaries. An echo of this recognition of the interdependence of areas separated by administrative boundaries occurred in the White Paper, *Leisure in the Countryside* (1966). Proposing the creation of country parks by county councils for public leisure and recreation, the White Paper suggested that county borough and county councils be allowed to contribute towards the cost of establishing such parks outside their own administrative boundaries for the benefit of their own ratepayers and the *Countryside Act 1968* provided for contributions by one local authority towards the expenditure of another.

14. The Planning Advisory Group's report on the *Future of Development Plans* (1965) suggested reforms within the existing administrative structure. It is apparent from their criticisms, however, that they considered that problems were inter-authority and regional in character. They believed that the Minister of Housing and Local Government should co-ordinate the development plans prepared by individual authorities which they recommended, thus ensuring inter-area co-operation. The White Paper, *Town and Country Planning* (1967) which followed this report stated frankly that part of the problem of existing development plans was that, being based on existing local government boundaries, they often divided areas with competing and complementary needs, and separated town from country at the point where pressure for change was greatest. Partly for this reason, the White Paper endorsed the system of planning recommended by the Planning Advisory Group (now implemented by the *Town and Country Planning Act 1968*) and suggested that it might usefully be introduced in some areas in advance of local government reorganisation. Another weakness of the existing structure of local government in the planning field touched on by this White Paper was that many existing authorities lacked the necessary resources to embark on a new and sophisticated style of development plan.

15. A somewhat similar point was made in a report to the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the local authority associations by a management study team: the *Management Study on Development Control* (1967). This recommended on management grounds that, in counties, the best methods of organising the taking of development control decisions included, among other things, statutory delegation, or equivalent, by the counties to "large district councils". The suggested criteria for selecting these authorities were a population of 80,000 - 120,000, and a penny rate product of £10,000 or more.

IV. TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC

16. The need to integrate land use planning and traffic and transportation planning, and the area over which this should be achieved, form an important theme in a number of reports. The Steering Committee of the Buchanan Report on Traffic in Towns (1963) recognised that the administrative arrangements and structure of local government then existing presented difficulties in meeting that need. Statutory planning was more effective in preventing bad, than in initiating good, development. The need for a national plan for land use and transport was stressed.

17. It is appropriate to note here that the theme of co-ordination in land use and transport was also emphasised by the Local Government Commission's reports, the regional studies, the Planning Advisory Group's report and the 1966 White Paper on Transport Policy (see paragraph 20 below). Where the Herbert and Local Government Commission reports recommended large units for land use planning they include highways planning, traffic management and comprehensive re-development (where these are at present the responsibility of local authorities) as being appropriate for administration by the same authority.

18. The Steering Committee of the Buchanan Report, having emphasised the need for a statement of national objectives, recommended as a second step the setting up of regional development agencies to undertake large scale redevelopment in "urban regions" and to co-ordinate the individually-prepared local authority plans. Urban regions were defined as large towns or conurbations plus their "journey to work" hinterland. The Steering Committee considered that although the existing local authority machinery was not designed to cope with planning on the scale necessary "it would be a mistake to supersede this". The *ad hoc* regional development agencies would have powers, and be financed, in a manner similar to the new town corporations. They would also execute the plans of individual authorities where the authority was not large enough to employ a wide spectrum of specialist staff.

19. The White Paper, Transport Policy (1966) endorsed the findings of the Buchanan and Planning Advisory Group reports on the scale of future operations and the need for integrated policies. It suggested that the studies being carried out in larger towns and conurbations would provide the basis for planning, "but the Government must provide the proper framework within which local authorities can act". The White Paper also stated that the Government would encourage the establishment of "conurbation transport authorities" which would integrate public passenger transport services. This would provide the machinery for co-ordinating road and rail transport which was lacking under the existing system. The White Paper also emphasised the need for single authorities in the conurbations, with responsibilities covering land use, highways, traffic, and public transport but was aware that "fundamental change of this kind must await the consideration and findings of the Royal Commissions on Local Government".

20. The second transportation White Paper, Public Transport and Traffic (1967) reiterated that the planning and operation of public transport could be effectively exercised only over areas which made sense in transport terms, that is, towns and their hinterlands. It clearly stated that these areas were larger

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than those of any of the existing individual urban authorities outside London. Since the reorganisation of transport could not, in the White Paper's view, await the reorganisation of local government in some areas, it proposed to set up passenger transport authorities (formerly conurbation transport authorities) covering the constituent authorities in four conurbations outside London.

V. HOUSING

21. There have been no reports on housing over the whole country during the period under review, but there have been two reports on housing in London, the Herbert Report (1960) and the Milner Holland Report on Housing in Greater London (1965). The Herbert Report assigned most housing powers to its second-tier authorities on the grounds that the service affected the citizen directly and should be administered by the same authority as the personal social services. It was deemed appropriate, however, that the Greater London Council should deal with problems not susceptible to local solution, that is, those which involved overspill and the estimation of housing needs over the whole Greater London area.

22. The Milner Holland report implied that the housing powers of the Greater London Council were not sufficient. It stressed that the attack on shortage and bad conditions must be planned, applied and directed for London as a whole; but pointed out that this depended on the co-operation of all the London borough housing authorities with the Greater London Council.

23. The need for co-operation and the difficulty of achieving it on problems of overspill and urban renewal were also stressed by the regional studies. The North West Study suggested that "a new administrative and technical system might have to be devised" to meet the problem in this area but "a re-examination by the Local Government Commission may have an important bearing on ability to cope". The West Midlands Study proposed to entrust large-scale and urgently needed expansion and overspill projects to special development agencies. The first report of the West Midlands Economic Planning Council, *The West Midlands: Patterns of Growth* (1967) called for a national review of the impact on local authorities of the burdens of development and redevelopment, especially under the New Towns and Town Development Acts. It also recommended a review of arrangements for co-ordination and co-operation between local authorities and government departments concerned with overspill schemes.

24. The Local Government Commission's report on the York and North Midlands general review area suggested the extension of the boundaries of Nottingham to include fringe areas to help solve the problems of slum clearance and overspill. The need to cater for the housing needs of Tyneside as a whole led the Commission, in their report on Tyneside, to suggest that this function should be performed by the top-tier authority.

25. A recent report in the housing field, published since the Royal Commission was set up, urged the Commission to consider the deficiencies of the existing structure of local government in relation to town development and peripheral development schemes. It was a report of a sub-committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee: *the Needs of New Communities*; a

Report on Social Provision in New and Expanding Communities (1968). The report saw, on the one hand, that administrative complications, and often a consequent lack of social planning, arose when a big city developed outside its own boundaries; and, on the other, the inability both of receiving authorities to afford the specialist staff that expansion required, and of exporting authorities (outside Greater London) to provide sufficient financial support to allow schemes to succeed. The report suggested that regional authorities with the resources of the Greater London Council were required.

VI. REFUSE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL

26. A report dealing with refuse collection only; Refuse Storage and Collection (1967) was produced by a working party set up by the Minister of Housing and Local Government. Its recommendations implied that some existing local authorities were too small even for this local function. Thus, "smaller" authorities were urged to provide jointly with their neighbours a pool of equipment, spare vehicles and repair facilities, together with certain specialist vehicles. The appointment of full-time qualified officers to be responsible for the service was recommended as generally desirable; but authorities with less than 40,000 population were exempted because, in effect, it was not thought practicable for them to employ such staff.

VII. WATER AND SEWERAGE

27. The interdependence of authorities, including local authorities using or needing water from rivers and lakes, was stressed by the Report on the Growing Demand for Water, (Proudman Committee) (1962). The committee recommended a major change in the administration of water resources. Comprehensive new authorities, formed by amalgamations among existing river boards, were suggested, with the powers to manage the water resources of river basins as a whole. The setting up of the Conference on Water Resources in the North West (1963) suggested, however, that where serious problems existed, the question had to be considered in a regional context.

28. The need for one authority to control the activities of various bodies was also stressed by the Report on the Pollution of the Tidal Thames (Pippard Committee) 1961. It recommended that the Port of London Authority should control local authorities on the question of discharge of effluent into the river basin.

29. The West Midlands special review area report of the Local Government Commission suggested the setting up of two joint sewerage boards over two river basins in the area, as greater centralisation would bring certain benefits of scale.

VIII. LIBRARIES

30. There have been two reports on the library service. These are the Roberts report on the structure of the service and the Bourdillon Report on library standards.

31. The report on the structure of the Library Service in England and Wales (the Roberts Committee Report) (1957) quoted the evidence of the Library Association on criteria for efficiency and the size necessary for an effective library authority. The Library Association suggested to the Committee that any autonomous authority spending less than £5,000 per annum on books "must give rise to disquiet". Bearing this in mind and in the light of modern needs, they concluded that "it would be difficult to make out a case for the retention of autonomous library powers by authorities serving populations below 40,000". The committee obviously did not wish to amalgamate all library authorities of under 40,000 population. They therefore accepted the Library Association's expenditure minimum as a criterion of efficiency and suggested that authorities which did not reach the expenditure level of £5,000 per annum on books within three years, should be amalgamated.

32. Counties and county boroughs were excluded from this recommendation as they could be expected to achieve this level of expenditure in any case. Local authorities with populations of over 60,000, the committee suggested, should be allowed to apply for status as autonomous library districts.

33. The report on Standards of Public Library Service (the Bourdillon Report) (1961) went further in attempting to establish criteria of efficiency. They found that authorities below 20,000 population had a "distinctly lower level" of purchase of new titles than those between 30,000 and 100,000; that there was a "sharp drop" in the purchase of expensive books in authorities below 100,000 and that those with a population above this level had a standard book coverage "markedly superior to those below". They drew up a minimum standard of coverage and concluded that a library authority serving a population substantially less than 30,000 would not be able to provide this minimum. They concluded that smaller library authorities should be abolished if they could not achieve these standards.

IX. POLICE

34. The Royal Commission on the Police (1960-62) was concerned with the problem of reconciling the gains which accrued from having police forces congruent with county and county borough boundaries, and the needs of an efficient force in combating crime. The *optimum* unit, from an efficiency point of view, was judged to be a police force of 500 men or more, which would require a population of 250,000 and above. The *minimum* area for supporting an independent police force was one of 175,000 population, which required a force of 350. The Commission considered that below this a force would find it difficult to have enough operational flexibility, employ specialists, have adequate training facilities, maintain impartial discipline, have a lively promotion system and resist pressure groups.

35. As the Commission were anxious not to lose "association" with local authority areas, they suggested amalgamation of the forces of smaller authorities—within the limits set by existing boundaries. The Commission also suggested that local authority boundaries were "meaningless and detrimental" in conurbations. Despite possible difficulties resulting from very large forces, a single force for each conurbation was justified in terms of efficiency in crime control and prevention.

36. One member of the Commission, Dr. Goodhart, did not sign the report, but added a strongly worded memorandum from which it was clear that he did not give as much weight as his fellow commissioners to the advantages to be gained from retaining police under local government control. He argued for a regionally operated national force.

X. PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES: HEALTH, WELFARE AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

37. In the health and welfare field, attention has tended to centre on the difficulties of co-operation and co-ordination which result from the tripartite structure of the National Health Service rather than on the requirements necessary for running the local authority parts of the Service. Although suggestions on the structure of the National Health Service are, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this paper, recommendations from certain reports are worth mentioning.

38. The Committee on the Resettlement of the Disabled (Piercy Report) (1956) and the Herbert Report suggested that the general practitioner should be the clinical head of a domiciliary team of health and welfare workers to ensure both co-ordination and co-operation. The Herbert Report pointed out that the administrative head of such a team *could* be the medical officer of health, but commented that this was often difficult as he had varying duties and responsibilities, depending on the size and type of authority which he served. Likewise, the report of the Royal Commission on Medical Education (1968), foresaw that a big development in the future was likely to be the growth of large group practices for G.Ps, probably based on health centres. Such practices might well take over much local authority clinic work, notably for old people and children. With environmental hygiene work likely to pass to qualified laymen, the traditional clinical-administrative office of medical officer of health might disappear. The report of the Central Health Services Council Standing Medical Advisory Committee (the Sheldon Committee), Child Welfare Centres (1967) also foresaw that eventually the child health service would become part of a family health service provided by the family doctor in a family health centre.

39. The Report of the Medical Services Review Committee (the Porritt Report) (1964) proposed a radical change in the structure of the Health Service. It recommended that area health boards should take over administration of all aspects of the Health Service—leaving only welfare to the local authorities. It suggested that population size would play an important part in determining the administrative area covered by the health boards.

40. This proposal was taken up in the Minister of Health's Green Paper, National Health Service: The Administrative Structure of the Medical and Related Services in England and Wales (1968). The Green Paper postulated the need for a new administrative structure to reduce the number of administrative units and create authorities with larger areas than most existing local health authorities and substantially more resources. These might be new local authorities following the Royal Commission's report. Or they might be independent, appointed, area health boards directly responsible to the Minister. In the latter

case, there might be 40 or 50 boards with populations varying from three-quarters of a million to three millions. In either event, the new authorities would administer a unified health service including hospitals, general medical, dental, ophthalmic and pharmaceutical services, and local authority personal health services.

41. Other reports have stressed the need for co-ordination of effort on the personal social services, which are already within the sphere of existing local authority responsibilities. The Committee on the Cost of the National Health Service (the Guillebaud Committee) (1956), the Piercy Report and the Herbert Report all recommended combined health and welfare departments in local authorities to increase co-ordination. The report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services (the Seeborn Committee) (1968) proposed the creation of a unified social service department combining the work of existing welfare and children's departments, and aspects of the work of health departments. At the same time, the Committee thought that, in order to achieve necessary co-ordination with related services, housing, education and health work should be the undivided responsibility of the same local authority as was responsible for the new social service department.

42. In Scotland, two publications have suggested changes in the distribution of functions affecting children. The report on Children's Services in Scotland (the Kilbrandon Report) (1964) recommended that all children's services, including probation, should be administered by a special department under the Education Officer. These recommendations formed the basis of proposals in a recent Scottish White Paper, *Social Work and the Community* (1966). The White Paper echoed the Kilbrandon Report in saying that such changes should improve co-ordination, save on working time and help to provide a more positive family-based, social work service.

43. On the question of the size of unit necessary for administering the personal social services (health, welfare and children's), the Herbert Report considered that the unit should be as small as was consistent with efficiency; it suggested that this was around the 100,000 population mark. This was the minimum population size for applying for county borough status laid down by the Local Government Act of 1958. The Herbert Report also claimed that the 100,000 population minimum would produce authorities capable of achieving a "reasonable" coverage of health visitors, midwives and home nurses. They thought that co-ordination could still be achieved in areas up to 200,000 population, but as population increased it became more difficult. In their view, at a population of 500,000 the disadvantages of separate chains of command and separate empires became manifest. Their recommendation for lower-tier authorities in Greater London gave a population range of areas between 100,000-250,000.

44. The Guillebaud Report and the report of the Committee on the Maternity Services (1959), both suggested that counties and county boroughs, as opposed to county districts or municipal boroughs, were the right administrative authorities for the personal health and welfare services.

45. The Maternity Report drew attention to the provisions under the 1958 Local Government Act for boroughs and urban districts with a population of 60,000 or more to administer their own maternity services under delegated

powers. In the opinion of the Committee there was a *prima facie* case for saying that this would multiply difficulties. There might, however, be advantages if the new authorities were co-terminous with the catchment area of a hospital maternity unit. Authorities who had received delegated powers were encouraged to make arrangements with local hospital management committees.

46. By contrast with these older reports, the more recent report of the Seeböhm Committee implied much larger units. It stated that social service authorities should be "substantial" local authorities, able to justify adequate arrangements for training, consultancy advice and specialised services. There was a need for strong comprehensive services provided by strong local authorities. The report advocated that the social service department should work through decentralised and community-based area teams of social workers, serving a population of 50,000–100,000. There should be several of these teams in each social service authority.

47. The White Paper, *Children in Trouble* (1968) explicitly proposed to group together existing local authorities into joint planning committees. These would have the responsibility of preparing comprehensive development plans for a full range of residential accommodation, and other facilities, to meet a wide variety of needs. The White Paper recognised the call for close links between homes and the communities they served; but at the same time it considered that many of the facilities needed were too specialised to be provided on a wholly local basis, and that some, indeed, must be planned nationally.

XI. EDUCATION

48. Reports in the education field say little on the question of the adequate size necessary to run an education service. Some reports do consider the problem of whether further education should be run by the same authority which deals with other parts of the service.

49. The White Paper on Technical Education (1956) stated that the administration of further education (including colleges of advanced technology) should remain in the hands of individual local education authorities. The Robbins Report (1963), however, recommended that these colleges should become autonomous bodies, and that training colleges should be linked with universities as colleges of education; but that regional and technical colleges should continue to be run by local authorities. A regionally administered further education service was specifically rejected.

50. The White Paper on Polytechnics (1966) suggested that these institutions should continue to be run by existing local education authorities; consultation between authorities was, however, encouraged.

51. The Herbert Report, in dealing with London, recommended that the Greater London Council should run colleges of advanced technology and regional colleges, leaving the second-tier authorities to be responsible for the day-to-day administration of schools and technical colleges. It was also suggested that the Greater London Council should be responsible for general standards of education throughout the area, and have budgetary and other powers to enable them to exercise overall control. This splitting of the education function between the

upper and lower-tier authorities was made because it was thought essential that the planning of the institutions appropriate to each stage of education should be conducted as a whole and over an area wide enough to provide the greatest possible variety and range of schools or colleges.

52. The Local Government Commission's report on the Tyneside special review area recommended that the proposed boroughs should run their own education services. The suggestion was made that further education was a regional matter, but co-ordination was left to the regional advisory council for higher technical education while further discussion on the subject was encouraged.

53. The first report of the Public Schools Commission (1968) implicitly rejected the existing local government structure as a suitable vehicle to achieve its objective of integrating the public schools with the state system of education. Instead, it proposed a national body—the Boarding Schools Corporation—for this purpose. This emphasis was rejected by one member of the Commission, Professor Vaizey, who, in a note of reservation, insisted that boarding education and child care should remain a direct responsibility of local authorities. The main report, however, did propose regional consortia of local authorities to handle the placing of children in boarding schools. This device was seen as giving children more equal opportunities, irrespective of where they lived, and allowing close relationships between schools and a small number of placing agencies. But it was thought that consortia might prove unnecessary if local government were reorganised to produce a relatively small number of much larger authorities.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES

54. The report on Consumer Protection (the Molony Report) (1962), discussed the inadequate enforcement of the Merchandise Marks Acts, which are concerned broadly with the labelling and presentation of goods for sale. The Committee recommended the imposition of an obligation to enforce the Acts on local authorities who had responsibilities for weights and measures, food and drugs . . . "on the assumption that this responsibility will reside in the largest units of local government", that is, those who are capable of sustaining an adequate inspectorate.

55. In its first report the Wise Committee on Small Holdings (1966) recommended that, apart from the city of Birmingham, which should be given the duties of a county council, county boroughs should not in future be empowered to provide smallholdings. The reason given for this recommendation was that county borough councils' estates were too small to lend themselves to re-organisation. Owing to the fact that county boroughs' problems were urban rather than rural there was also difficulty in finding able and willing councillors to serve on smallholdings committees.

ANNEX

List of Reports Referred to

GENERAL

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1960 | The Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London 1957-60. (Herbert Report) Cmnd. 1164. |
| 1961 | Local Government Commission: Report on the West Midlands Special Review Area. |
| 1963 | Local Government Commission: Report on the Tyneside Special Review Area. |

Government reports and the structure of local government since 1950

- 1964 Local Government Commission: Report on the West Yorkshire Special Review Area.
- 1964 Local Government Commission: Report on the York and North Midlands General Review Area.
- 1965 Local Government Commission: Draft Proposals for the South East Lancashire Special Review Area.
- 1965 Local Government Commission: Draft Proposals for the Merseyside Special Review Area.
- 1965 Department of Economic Affairs: The West Midlands: A Regional Study.
- 1965 Department of Economic Affairs: The North West: A Regional Study.
- 1967 West Midlands Economic Planning Council: The West Midlands: Patterns of Growth.
- 1967 Committee on the Staffing of Local Government: Staffing of Local Government (Mallaby Report).
- 1967 Committee on the Management of Local Government: Management of Local Government (Maud Report).
- 1968 East Anglia Economic Planning Council: East Anglia: A Study.

PLANNING

- 1950 Ministry of Town and Country Planning: The Qualifications of Planners. (Schuster Report) Cmnd. 8059.
- 1965 Planning Advisory Group¹: The Future of Development Plans.
- 1967 Ministry of Housing and Local Government White Paper: Town and Country Planning. Cmnd. 3333.
- 1967 Management Study Team²: Management Study on Development Control.

TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC

- 1963 Ministry of Transport: Traffic in Towns (Buchanan Report).
- 1966 Ministry of Transport White Paper: Transport Policy. Cmnd. 3057.
- 1967 Ministry of Transport White Paper: Public Transport and Traffic. Cmnd. 3481.

HOUSING

- 1965 Ministry of Housing and Local Government: Housing in Greater London. (Milner Holland Report). Cmnd. 2306.
- 1967 Central Housing Advisory Committee: The Needs of New Communities.

WATER, SEWERAGE, REFUSE COLLECTION AND DISPOSAL

- 1961 Ministry of Housing and Local Government: The Pollution of the Tidal Thames.
- 1962 Central Advisory Water Committee: Sub-Committee on the Growing demand for Water (Proudman Report).
- 1963 Ministry of Housing and Local Government: Conference on Water Resources in the North West.
- 1967 Working Party on Refuse Collection: Refuse Storage and Collection.

1. Appointed by the Ministries of Housing and Local Government, and Transport, and by the Scottish and Welsh Offices.

2. Appointed by the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the local authority associations.

Appendix 9

POLICE

- 1964 Royal Commission on the Police.

LIBRARIES

- 1957 Ministry of Education: The Structure of the Library Service in England and Wales (Roberts Report). Cmnd. 660.
1962 Ministry of Education: Working Party on Standards of the Public Library Service in England and Wales (Bourdillon Report).

PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES

- 1956 Ministry of Health: Committee of Inquiry into the Cost of the National Health Service. (Guillebaud Report). Cmnd. 9663.
1956 Ministry of Labour and National Service: The Rehabilitation, Training and Resettlement of Disabled Persons (Piercy Report). Cmnd. 9883.
1959 Ministry of Health: Report of the Maternity Service Committee.
1962 Report of the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service. (Morrison Report). Cmnd. 1650.
1964 Medical Services Review Committee: A Review of the Medical Service in G.B. (Porritt Report).
1964 Scottish Home and Health Department: Children and Young Persons Scotland (Kilbrandon Report). Cmnd. 2306.
1966 Scottish Home and Health Department: Social Work and the Community. Cmnd. 3065.
1966 Central Housing Advisory Committee: Sub-Committee on the Standards of Housing.
1967 Central Health Services Council Standing Medical Advisory Committee: Child Welfare Centres (the Sheldon Committee).
1968 Royal Commission on Medical Education. Cmnd. 3569.
1968 Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services (Seeböhm Report). Cmnd. 3703.
1968 Ministry of Health Green Paper: The Administrative Structure of the Medical and Related Services in England and Wales.
1968 Home Office White Paper: Children in Trouble. Cmnd. 3601.

EDUCATION

- 1956 Ministry of Education White Paper: Technical Education. Cmnd. 9703.
1963 Committee on Higher Education: Higher Education (Robbins Report). Cmnd. 2151.
1966 Department of Education and Science: A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges. Cmnd. 3006.
1968 Department of Education and Science: First Report of the Public Schools Commission.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1962 Board of Trade: Final Report on Consumer Protection (Molony Report). Cmnd. 1781.
1966 Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: First Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Statutory Smallholdings. (Wise Report). Cmnd. 2936.
1966 Ministry of Land and Natural Resources and Welsh Office White Paper: Leisure in the Countryside England and Wales. Cmnd. 2928.

APPENDIX 10

STAFFING AND SIZE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Large local authorities are often said to be better staffed than small. It is claimed that this is because they offer more scope for specialist skills, have a wider career structure, afford better promotion prospects, and pay better salaries.

2. The starting point for an examination of claims of this kind is the fact that there is a shortage of professional staff in local government. The proposition that authorities of large population can cope better with this shortage forms a significant part of the argument of some important witnesses who call for the creation of substantially larger units.

3. The extent of the shortage of professional staff can be illustrated by the fact that in 1964, in 15 professional groups within the local government service in English counties and county boroughs outside London, less than 75% of the total establishments were filled by staff who held the professional qualifications required by their employers. The remaining 25% of posts were either filled by staff having less than the required qualifications, or were not filled at all¹. Variations from the national average ranged from 93.1% on the one side to 51.3% on the other. It is, of course, variations like this in the degree of shortage, rather than the overall shortage as such, which are relevant here².

4. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government is among those witnesses who link variations in staffing with population size. Its written evidence³ argues that one of the main weaknesses in the present condition of local government is that many existing authorities are too small; and staffing problems loom large in the enumerated deficiencies of small authorities.

5. Staffing difficulties seem to be of two kinds in the Ministry's view. There are those encountered by the smallest county district authorities, chiefly their frequent lack of a full range of qualified chief and deputy chief officers⁴. But there are other, less extreme, problems facing authorities of medium or even fairly large size. Here the question is the calibre of chief officers, the number of supporting staff, and the employment of specialists. These are seen as being

1. The Report of the Committee on the Staffing of Local Government (the Mallaby Committee) implied that shortages may to some extent be artificial. It also implied that data of this kind are not reliable measures of staffing difficulties. (See paragraphs 205 and 221 of the report: *Staffing of Local Government*, H.M.S.O., 1967.) But the Committee did not dispute that there are staffing difficulties; and their data, which are those used in this investigation (see Section II), are the best available measure of these problems.

2. The national shortage as such was, of course, discussed by the Mallaby Committee, especially in chapters III and IV of their report.

3. Part I of the *Written Evidence of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government*, H.M.S.O., 1967, paragraphs 255-267.

4. Examples of difficulties of this kind were given in the report of the Local Government Commission for the West Yorkshire Special Review Area (*Local Government Commission for England, Report No. 7: West Yorkshire Special Review Area*, H.M.S.O., 1964, paragraphs 29-31.)

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affected by the practice of tying top salaries to the population size of an authority, and by its financial resources and the scale of its work.

6. Variations in staffing are also linked with population size in the White Paper on the reorganisation of local government in Wales¹. Although Wales is outside the Commission's terms of reference, the White Paper is relevant. It exemplifies the general drift of evidence to the Commission on staffing and expresses very clearly the relation which witnesses see between population size and staffing problems of the less extreme kind noted above:—

“For effective administration an authority must be able not only to employ chief officers of standing but to support them with staffs of adequate numbers, quality, and specialised skills. The large authority is better able than the small to provide the conditions of service, the career structure and the scope for the exercise of specialised professional skills which are needed to attract and retain sufficient good-quality staff².”

7. The first aim of the exercise reported here was therefore to test claims of this kind: to see how far variations in aspects of the staffing shortage in certain existing local authorities can, in fact, be related to their population size. The authorities examined were English counties and county boroughs outside London: all being responsible for most of the major services, and having a wide range of staff, these authorities seemed the best to study.

8. The aspects of staffing examined were to some extent dictated by the nature of the available data (see section II below); but it proved possible to consider the following:—

- (1) the proportions of each authority's total establishments for certain professional employees filled by people qualified to the authority's satisfaction;
- (2) the proportions of these establishments filled by such qualified people, together with others having less than the qualifications required by the authorities for the posts; this of course is a measure of the total number of people in post in the professional groups concerned, (as a proportion of the total establishments);
- (3) the proportions of these establishments filled by employees with less than the required qualifications, considered alone.

9. These data seem to constitute reasonable criteria of authorities' ability, in the words of the Welsh White Paper, “to attract and retain sufficient good-quality staff”. They do not, of course, say anything about the quality of staff as measured by criteria other than acceptable qualifications of the kind examined, for example, in the study of local education authorities undertaken for the Commission by the Department of Education and Science (see Appendix 11). Nor do they cover all aspects of staffing: they do not, for example, touch on the important question of the range of specialist staff employed, which has also been cited in evidence to the Commission as being linked to size.

1. *Local Government in Wales*, Cmnd. 3340, H.M.S.O., 1967.

2. *Ibid.* paragraph 6. See also the report of the Local Government Commission for Wales (*Report and Proposals for Wales*, H.M.S.O., 1963). Paragraph 358 says: “. . . The increasing need of the various branches of each service for specially trained staff cannot be met by small authorities”.

10. Not all observers of local government staffing, however, agree that variations in staffing shortages are mainly attributable to population size. The Mallaby Committee, for example, thought that there is no evidence that size in itself is significant in attracting recruits to professional posts. They felt, instead, that a stronger part is played by environment—"a whole range of factors, which bear upon whether a local authority is a pleasant place to work in." The Committee did note, however, that the practice of linking the salaries of principal officers to the population size of an authority places small authorities at a disadvantage in recruiting subordinate staff, notably specialists, whose salaries are not so linked. Their main conclusion is further qualified by the comment that any larger authorities resulting from reorganisation of local government will have a marked effect on the careers open to local government officers¹. The Seebohm Committee, too, considered that variations in the distribution of trained manpower in the social services are partly due to "great differences in the attractiveness of local environments²."

11. It certainly seems reasonable to suppose that an authority in an area offering agreeable working and living conditions will have an advantage in attracting and retaining staff. Environmental differences may thus provide an alternative to size in accounting for staffing variations. For this reason, therefore, the second aim of the exercise reported here was to see how far the same staffing variations in the same authorities as were examined from the size viewpoint are related to environmental differences. For this purpose, a convenient measure of environment was taken to be the domestic rateable value of each local authority per head of its population. The assumption was that a reasonably uniform valuation of domestic property throughout the country (as the valuation for local government rating purposes may be taken to be) would reflect mainly those variations in local environments which are under review. That this was a reasonable indicator of environment was reinforced by an examination of the social class composition of local authority areas. This social factor seemed to be strongly correlated with domestic rateable value (see Annex I).

12. Size and environment are unlikely to be the only factors which determine the staffing of local authorities. The assumption of the exercise, however, was that they are potentially the most important; for this reason their relations to the staffing data were analysed fairly extensively.

13. Other factors likely to be important include the professional reputation of a department or chief officer, and the personal wishes of prospective applicants for posts. These, of course, cannot be quantified. But two further possibilities can. The first is salary levels. Outside the public service, this would be an obvious explanation of staffing variations in different employments. The operation of national salary scales within local government, however, means that salaries for given work levels are fixed for all authorities. It is true that authorities can,

1. Op. cit. paragraphs 44 and 45; 216 and 217; 203(a) and 207.

2. *Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*, para 94. Cmnd. 3703, H.M.S.O., 1968. The Committee also said, however, that "the personal social services need to be the responsibility of substantial local authorities to justify adequate arrangements for training, consultancy services and other specialised services". (Paragraph 681).

and doubtless do, upgrade jobs so as to attract staff; but it was not possible to pursue this aspect here.

14. The question of salary levels is, however, part also of the second of the two other quantifiable possibilities. This is employment prospects in competing fields outside local government available in different parts of the country. It may reasonably be assumed that if these are low in some areas, then local government employment, including its salary but also its security and pension arrangements, will be the more attractive; conversely, in areas where alternative employment prospects are good, those attractions will diminish¹. Since this hypothesis seems plausible, and would provide an important alternative to size and environment, the data were also analysed, albeit less extensively, by economic planning regions.

II. THE DATA

15. The main data used in the investigation were those collected by the Mallaby Committee for their own report, through a postal questionnaire sent to local authorities. They are the most extensive and comprehensive data available: it was the lack of other authoritative information that led the Committee to collect its own. The completed returns were kindly made available to the Commission.

16. Returns from 36 out of 47 counties (76.6%) and 66 out of 78 county boroughs (84.3%) were considered. Omitted were the former London and Middlesex County Councils, the former county boroughs of Croydon, East Ham and West Ham, and all the Welsh authorities, including Monmouth county and Newport county borough—all of which were within the purview of the Mallaby Committee but not of the Commission².

17. Reliance on the Mallaby Committee data for the main body of information used in this investigation has meant that staffing shortage has had to be measured by the criteria set out in paragraph 8 above. These were directly derived from the authorities' answers to three of the questions asked by the Committee. The questions were:—

- (1) What is your establishment (in each of 27 professions separately) for qualified or partly qualified professional staff?
- (2) How many posts (in each profession separately) were unfilled on 31st August 1964, and had been vacant for six months or more?
- (3) How many posts (in each profession separately) were at that time filled by persons possessing less than the qualification you required for the post?

1. This point is also made by Trevor Smith in his *Town and County Hall: Problems of Recruitment and Staffing* (The Acton Society Trust 1966), pages 13–14. Although there confined to school leavers, the idea seems generally applicable.

2. Even so, the data related to some areas now within Greater London, in that the returns from Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Surrey related to those counties as they were in 1964, before they lost part of their areas to Greater London.

18. 15 only of the 27 professions named by the Committee were examined: for some purposes (see paragraph 22 below) they were compounded to form a smaller number of groups. The 15 professions were:—

Accountants	Librarians
Architects	Mental health workers
Civil and municipal engineers	Planning officers
Child care officers	Public health inspectors
Dentists	Quantity surveyors
Doctors	Solicitors
Education officers	Valuers
Weights and measures officers	

These were assumed to form a reasonable cross-section of local government professional staff.

19. Data of the kind collected by the Mallaby Committee inevitably have flaws, as the Committee recognised¹. They provide only a "snapshot" of a constantly changing situation, at one point in time. The definition of a vacancy as a position unfilled for six months or more, but not less, will tend to underestimate the proportion of vacancies, especially where there is a rapid turnover of staff.

20. Perhaps more important, there is no uniform standard of establishments and professional qualifications to which all authorities must conform. Comparison between authorities may not always be precisely of like with like. But variations in standards seem unlikely to be so great as to render comparison valueless. For example, the Mallaby Committee asked how far authorities kept establishments low because of recruitment difficulties. Analysing the replies by type of authority in each profession—making 92 categories in all—the Committee found that this had caused establishments to be depressed by more than 5% in only 12 cases².

III. THE RESULTS: SIZE AND ENVIRONMENT

21. The influence of population size and of environment on all three measures of staffing shortage indicated in paragraph 8 above was examined by means of the statistical technique of multiple regression. This technique, and the way that it has been used, are described more fully in Annex II. It is sufficient here to say that the technique was used to reveal three main things: the extent to which changes in population size and environment are related to changes in the three measures of shortage; the statistical significance of these relationships; and the proportion of the total variation in each measure of shortage which can be attributed to the effects of size and environment.

22. The statistical tests were carried out separately for each of the three measures of shortage. They were applied to six broad groups into which the fifteen separate professions were, for convenience, amalgamated; and to the fifteen professions taken together³. There were thus 21 tests in all.

1. *Op. cit.* paragraph 42.

2. *Ibid.* appendix C, Table 2.

3. For details of the grouping of professions, see Annex II, Table 5.

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23. The results were negative. On the first two of the points examined in the analysis, it appeared that relationships between changes in shortage and changes in size and environment were everywhere very slight, and that in no case would they normally be regarded as statistically significant. The table in Annex II in fact lists the results of 9 of the tests where there was some indication that a relationship existed and was significant, even though the indication of significance was below the level normally accepted.

24. The third result was correspondingly striking: in no case did the effects of size and environment account for more than $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total variation. Indeed, because the two factors emerged as almost completely unrelated, their effect cannot, with advantage, be shown cumulatively—in some cases the effect of the one slightly detracts from that of the other. This does not, however, diminish the force of the main finding: that in no case can more than $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total variation be attributed to the effects of size or environment.

25. The corollary of this finding is that the overwhelming part (that is, $96\frac{1}{2}\%$ or more) of the variation in staffing shortages must in all cases be attributed to factors other than size and environment, or to random factors. The initial assumption of this exercise was that size and environment were potentially the major influences on these variations: this assumption has not therefore been supported by the material adduced here. There is, of course, no indication of the nature of the other factors at work. It might be that, taken singly, they would prove to have as little influence as size and environment, or less; or there might be a large random element. Nevertheless, on the basis of the data and methods employed here, it appears that size and environment are minor influences on variations in staffing shortages.

26. In view of the importance which attaches to size and environment, however, it is still worthwhile briefly to examine the very tenuous, and statistically weak, relationships between shortages and size or environment which the analysis revealed. Comment is confined to the 9 results listed in the table in Annex II.

27. Looking first at the influence of size, there emerges a tendency for smaller authorities to have a more nearly full complement of staff, and for larger authorities to have more vacancies. This is so in the case of all six groups taken together, and in the case of group 3 (education officers and librarians). This tentative result may be taken simply as indicating that, in this respect, small authorities are better staffed than large. But it may also be seen, though less straightforwardly, as suggesting that size influences the way in which authorities approach their common problem of a shortage of fully qualified staff, and that larger authorities tend to prefer higher vacancy rates. This second view takes account of the fact that small authorities, being nearer an irreducible margin in the use of staff, are less able to tolerate vacancies than large authorities with their bigger establishments¹.

1. A similar point is made in respect of certain personal health services by G. Rhodes in *Town Government in South East England*, Greater London Paper No. 12, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1967, pp. 38-9. The Seeborn Committee also remarked that "The small department is at serious risk of disruption because of absence through illness and leave". Op. cit. paragraph 160.

28. To be sustained, however, this view would need also to show that small authorities fill out their staff complements with staff who are less than fully qualified. The results of the analysis suggest that this does happen in the case of group 1 (architects, planners, civil engineers, surveyors and valuers). But it is not what happens in the case of group 6 (public health inspectors and weights and measures officers), where there tends to be more staff of this kind in large authorities.

29. The contradictory experiences of groups 1 and 6 suggest that, as one would suppose, different factors affect different staff groups. Large authorities appear to be more attractive to the professions in group 1, in that those authorities tend to have both more qualified staff and less of those who are not fully qualified. One plausible explanation for this is that scale of operation is an important element in the work of some of those professions, and that only larger authorities can offer it. For other professions, however, it may be of less significance.

30. Turning to the influence of environment, the main result of the analysis is to suggest that, where it is felt, the influence of environment is relatively stronger than that of size. This influence is still, of course, of a very tenuous kind.

31. The general effect of environment is seen in the six groups taken together: here, authorities with better environments (that is, with higher domestic rateable values per head of population) are able to attract more staff, whether fully qualified or not. This tendency reappears in group 2 (child care officers and mental health officers) and group 4 (doctors and dentists). It also appears in the case of qualified staff in the second of these groups, but this may be because, especially among dentists, there are few unqualified staff.

32. These results again probably illustrate the influence of the circumstances of particular professions. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that staff in the professions in both group 2 and group 4 are especially deterred from areas of poor environment because their work is likely to bring them into contact with the more difficult social problems associated with such environments.

33. In general, therefore, in so far as the regression analysis suggests anything, it is that size and environment have a limited influence on variations in staffing shortages; that within that limited influence, larger authorities have more vacancies, for whatever reason, than small; that, more strongly, authorities with better environments have fewer vacancies; and that the circumstances of individual professions are of some importance.

IV. THE RESULTS: REGIONAL VARIATIONS

34. It was suggested in paragraph 14 that regional variations in the prospects for employment outside local government might offer an alternative explanation for inter-authority variations in staffing shortages. There is no very sensitive measure of alternative employment opportunities available regionally. The concept itself, though valid, is necessarily elusive. It can, however, probably be taken to cover both the availability of jobs generally, and their availability in more closely related fields. A reasonable account of the first can be derived

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from the Department of Employment and Productivity's figures for all unemployed adult workers, related to total vacancies in the regions. On this basis, the Department's London and South Eastern, Eastern and Southern, and Midland regions in 1964 offered the best employment prospects; the South Western and Yorkshire and Lincolnshire regions were average; and the North Western and Northern regions had proportionately bad prospects¹.

35. The second aspect is less well documented. Unemployment of, and still more, vacancies for, professional people are thought to be less extensively reported to the Employment Exchanges than other types of employment. The Department does produce figures for clerical workers and administrative, professional and technical workers and these seem to constitute the most relevant alternative fields when considering recruitment to, and losses from, the local government professional service. Again relating unemployed adults to vacancies, the Department's Midland region in 1964 offered the best prospects, especially for men, with the London and South Eastern, Eastern and Southern and Yorkshire and Lincolnshire regions all very close to it. The South Western region was proportionately the worst off for men, though better placed for women. The North Western and Northern regions were again worst off for opportunities for women but were above the South Western region in respect of men².

36. It thus seems clear that there were regional variations in the availability of opportunities for employment outside local government at the time of the Mallaby Committee survey. It therefore seemed worthwhile to see whether these variations were matched by regional variations in staff shortages within local government. The Mallaby Committee data were analysed from this viewpoint.

Table 1: Regional variations in aspects of staffing shortages for 15 professions taken together

<i>Region</i>	<i>Fully qualified staff*</i>	<i>Staff with less than the required qualification*</i>	<i>All staff*</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Percentages of total establishments</i>			
Northern	75.4	14.7	90.1
Yorkshire and Humberside	73.1	16.3	89.4
East Midlands	72.3	15.8	88.1
East Anglia	73.2	22.1	95.3
South East (excluding London)	76.6	14.1	90.7
South West	75.5	15.9	91.4
West Midlands	71.0	15.9	86.9
North West	74.1	15.8	89.9
All authorities	74.4	15.6	90.0

*See paragraph 8 above.

1. Ministry of Labour: *Statistics on Incomes, Prices, Employment and Production*, No. 9, H.M.S.O., June 1964, Tables E10 and E11.

2. *Ibid.*

37. Table 1 shows the results of this analysis for the 15 professions taken together. The analysis adopted the now standard economic planning regions, and used the same indices of staffing shortages as were used in the size and environment analysis (see paragraph 8 above).

38. The most striking feature of this table is the lack of variation in the percentages of fully qualified staff in the different regions (column 2): only 5.6 percentage points separate the highest (the South East) from the lowest (the West Midlands). The percentage of fully qualified staff is taken as the most important of the three measures of staffing; the other two are viewed as an indication of the way authorities handle the balance of posts which they cannot fill with fully qualified people. East Anglia is interesting from this viewpoint for having a higher than average proportion of staff with less than the required qualification (column 3); added to an average proportion of qualified staff this produces a very low vacancy rate (column 4).

39. Since the analysis of the 15 professions together revealed so little regional variation, it seemed worthwhile to ascertain whether this procedure masked any regional variation in the figures for sub-groups of professions. One can, for example, make a *prima facie* distinction between those professions whose members have prospects of employment in the same field outside local government, and those lacking such prospects¹. Recruitment to, and losses from, the first group inside the local government service, especially at trainee and junior levels, will probably be influenced by the existence and state of prospects outside. The second group, on the other hand, is likely to be more immune to the outside world, except that good alternative employment opportunities generally may impede the recruitment of trainees.

40. Shortages in seven professions individually were therefore analysed by region. Architects, civil engineers, planning officers, quantity surveyors and valuers were chosen to represent professions with employment possibilities outside local government; accountants and public health inspectors, to represent those with more limited prospects. Table 2 gives the results for the first five of these professions.

41. No single region appears to be consistently well or badly off over all five professions, as compared with other regions (variations between the five professions as such, of course, are not here to the point). Even the West Midlands, which does well generally, has fairly low proportions of fully qualified architects and planners; the South East, another generally well placed region, comes low in the list for fully qualified engineers; the Northern region fluctuates between best off for fully qualified planners and engineers, and worst off for fully qualified architects.

42. The two remaining professions fail to yield more consistent results, as Table 3 shows. The South East, it is true, has high proportions of both fully qualified accountants and public health inspectors. But more typical of the rest is the Northern region, which has least of the first and, at the same time, most of the second.

1. This distinction was also drawn by the Mallaby Committee. *Op. cit.* paragraphs 206 and 209-10.

Table 2: Regional variations in aspects of staffing shortage for 7 professions individually (percentages of total establishments)

Region	Architects			Civil engineers			Planning officers			Quantity surveyors			Valuers		
	Q	U	A	Q	U	A	Q	U	A	Q	U	A	Q	U	A
Northern	58.0	14.6	72.6	83.2	7.1	90.3	82.9	8.1	91.0	70.9	13.4	84.3	*	*	*
Yorkshire and Humberside	60.6	17.0	76.6	78.5	7.8	86.3	76.2	17.4	93.6	66.3	13.6	79.9	82.8	10.3	93.1
East Midlands	77.3	7.2	84.5	65.7	21.6	87.3	73.2	17.7	90.7	70.8	18.0	88.8	75.0	2.1	77.1
East Anglia	68.5	24.8	93.3	66.4	30.3	96.7	64.4	28.9	93.3	*	*	*	*	*	*
South East (excluding London)	70.8	8.8	79.6	76.6	11.2	87.8	75.4	16.5	91.9	72.3	12.8	85.1	87.0	7.6	94.6
South West	62.0	14.5	76.5	80.3	16.1	96.4	80.8	16.7	97.5	65.7	21.4	87.1	93.6	1.6	95.2
West Midlands	68.1	9.7	77.8	81.5	7.7	89.2	74.3	16.8	91.1	72.7	13.3	86.0	91.2	0	91.2
North West	73.7	12.8	86.5	80.8	11.2	92.0	69.6	17.4	87.0	68.7	18.3	87.0	85.2	11.6	96.9
All authorities	68.3	12.5	80.8	77.9	12.1	90.0	75.5	16.6	92.1	70.1	15.4	85.5	86.3	6.3	92.6

Q = fully qualified. U = Having less than the required qualification. A = All staff.

For fuller definitions of categories "Q", "U", and "A", see paragraph 8 above.

*Insufficient returns from authorities in the region, or establishments too small, to provide meaningful figures.

Table 3: Regional variations in aspects of staffing shortage in 2 professions individually
(Percentages of establishments)

Region	Accountants			Public health inspectors		
	Q	U	A	Q	U	A
Northern	60.1	34.6	94.7	94.7	1.5	96.2
Yorkshire and Humberside	67.2	28.0	95.2	85.3	3.2	88.5
East Midlands	71.8	20.3	92.1	77.8	0	77.8
East Anglia	88.9	10.3	99.2	*	*	*
South East	76.7	19.7	96.4	87.9	0.6	88.5
South West	70.1	22.2	92.3	63.6	15.2	78.8
West Midlands	68.8	28.5	97.3	76.0	9.6	85.6
North West	66.9	30.1	97.0	77.2	6.4	83.6
All authorities	70.1	25.7	95.8	81.0	5.3	86.3

Q=Fully qualified
 U=Having less than the required qualifications
 A=All staff

For fuller definitions of categories "Q" "U" and "A" see paragraph 8 above.

*Insufficient returns from authorities in the region, or establishments too small, to provide meaningful figures.

43. The general conclusion from this regional analysis must be negative. The results do not present a sufficiently consistent, region-by-region, pattern over all the professions to support any hypothesis which advances regional variations as a supposed influencing factor to account for a significant part of the total variation in staffing shortages. Further, this lack of consistency reappears within two groups of the professions where, on the hypothesis of regional differences in alternative employment opportunities, consistency might have been expected.

44. Yet regional variations in shortage undoubtedly exist in the professions individually. It has not, however, proved possible to find an hypothesis to fit them all when taken together. The most valid view may well be that no such explanation exists, and that they are the result of different factors in each case. In some, but not all, cases regional employment prospects might be important.

45. It is worth adding that, in one profession at any rate, a further breakdown beyond the regional level has revealed a likely explanation for variations which is not in fact related to employment prospects. The Public Health Inspectors Registration Board in 1966 conducted a survey of local authorities regarding the numbers of public health inspectors employed by English and Welsh local authorities. One of the subjects covered was vacancies: it appeared that 11% of total establishments were unfilled in September 1966. When authorities then comprising the 130 housing priority areas were isolated, however, the vacancy rate rose to 19%. Regionally, the position in the priority areas was as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Vacancies for public health inspectors in priority areas within regions.

(1) 130 priority areas in regions	(2) Posts vacant	(3) <i>Column (2) as a percentage of total establishments</i>
Northern	36	22
North Western	92	19
East Midlands	15	21
West Midlands	66	23
Southern	10	23
Yorkshire and Humberside	41	14
Greater London	172	18
All priority areas	432	19
All authorities in England and Wales	660	11

When the position in 24 towns with especially bad housing conditions (mostly within the priority areas) was examined, the rate rose to 24%.

46. This seems to indicate very strongly that for public health inspectors—a profession working at close quarters with the environment—environmental factors are more influential than regional differences as such. For with the exception of the Yorkshire and Humberside region—above the national vacancy rate but below the other regions—there is very little regional variation. The distinction lies between areas with the most daunting problems, in whatever region, and the rest. This reinforces the indications noted in paragraph 29 above that there may not be any one factor which significantly influences all or most of the professions under review.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

47. The first aim of the exercise reported here was to see how far variations in aspects of staffing shortage in counties and county boroughs could be related to their population size. That there was said to be a relationship was an important feature of the evidence submitted to the Commission, and population size, moreover, was of considerable concern to the Commission. But it is recognised that any exercise based on existing authorities may not be a relevant guide to a new pattern of local authorities based on different principles.

48. In the event the results of the exercise do not show population size as affecting staffing. It has not appeared to be the case that large authorities are better able than small to attract and retain good quality staff, on the basis of the measures used in the exercise. There was some slight indication that, for whatever reason, large authorities have more vacancies than small. But far outweighing the significance of that was the fact that very little of the total variation can be attributed to the influence of size at all.

49. It is relevant, however, to re-emphasise that the influence of size was looked for in the experience of counties and county boroughs only. Virtually all (97%) of the authorities in the sample had populations over 60,000; a majority (73%) had populations over 100,000. The results could have been quite different if the smaller county districts had been included.

50. Since size did not appear to exert significant influence, the effects of two other factors were sought, as potential alternative explanations. The first of these was environment, as measured by an authority's rateable value per head of population.

51. But environment proved to have almost as little effect as size itself. There was certainly some suggestion in the analysis that authorities with better environments were more successful in recruiting staff, whether qualified or not. But this too was overshadowed by the very small influence on the total variation which environment appeared to exert. In that context, the fact that the influence of environment was relatively greater than that of size is not very significant.

52. The second of the alternatives was the effect of regional variations in employment prospects outside local government. This turned out to exert as little influence as the first alternative. For when the Mallaby Committee data were analysed regionally, there were no significant results to which the hypothesis might be applied. When the 15 professions covered in this exercise were taken together, the regional differences were on the whole negligible. And when two representative sub-groups were examined—sub-groups where on the hypothesis under review, significant contrasts might have been expected—no such contrasts appeared; nor was there consistency within the two groups themselves.

53. The failure of the three hypotheses to account for variations in staff shortages across the board to any significant extent suggests that the circumstances of individual professions differ so greatly that no one explanation can be found to fit them when they are all viewed together.

54. Some positive indications that this is so appeared at points in the exercise. The regression analysis suggests that size of authority may have some importance for a group of staff covering architects, civil engineers and planning officers. Here it seems likely that scale of operation is attractive. The same analysis indicated, somewhat more strongly, that it is environment that may be important for other professions, whose work confronts them with social problems likely to be related to environment. These include doctors, dentists, child care officers and mental health officers.

55. A separate analysis confirmed that environment was also important for another profession, in that vacancies for public health inspectors were found to be greatest in housing priority areas, that is, in areas with the most intractable problems.

56. In explaining why the three major aspects—size, environment, and alternative employment—did not show any significant overall relationship with shortage, due weight must of course be given to the defects of the methods here adopted. Neither the data nor the criteria of judgment which they afforded are comprehensive or flawless. It was mentioned in the introduction that the possibility of upgrading of staff as a factor was not pursued; but it is possible that some small authorities overcome their inherent recruiting difficulties by upgrading. It was also mentioned earlier that this exercise did not explore the relationship between scale and the *range* of specialist staff employed. This must also be borne in mind, particularly in relation to the results appearing to show size as not having an influence. More important as a limitation on the results of the analysis is the fact that no account could be taken of quality of staff other than what is implied by acceptable professional qualifications.

ANNEX I

A correlation coefficient was calculated between the percentages in high social class groups (Socio-Economic Groups 1, 2, 3, 4 and 13 as defined in the Census) and the percentage of hereditaments over £40 in value in 1961 in each county and county borough. The domestic rating returns for 1961 were used, as these were for the same year as the Census. The selected Socio-Economic Groups formed 11 % of the total of all S.E.G.s in England and Wales. Hereditaments of rateable value over £40 in 1961 formed 9 % of the total numbers of residential hereditaments in England and Wales. Similar percentages are therefore being compared. The correlation coefficient for counties was 0.76; for county boroughs, 0.77. This suggests that authorities with a high average domestic rateable value—which tends to produce a high D.R.V. per head—also have high percentages of the top social class groups.

ANNEX II

1. This annex briefly describes the technique of multiple regression and the way that it has been used in this exercise. It also lists the main results obtained.

2. Multiple regression is a method of analysis in which changes in the dependent variable (in this case the three measures of staffing shortage, each taken separately) are “explained” by a number of independent or influencing variables (here, population size and domestic rateable value per head of population). The technique produces an equation relating the dependent to the independent variables by means of suitable weights:—

$$y = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2$$

where y is the measure of staffing shortage, a is a constant, x_1 and x_2 are the size and environment variables thought to influence y , and b_1 and b_2 are the weights (the regression coefficients) which express the relationships between y and the independent variable in question after eliminating the effect of the other independent variable. An increase of one unit in x_1 will increase y by b_1 , the other independent variable (x_2) remaining the same.

3. An important measure of the significance of the regression coefficients is the T-ratio, which, in brief, is the ratio of the regression coefficient itself to the amount of error to which it is subject. If the value of T is greater than 2 (regardless of whether it is positive or negative), there is a 95% probability that the regression coefficient is significant, that is, that the independent variable has a positive or negative effect on the dependent variable. If the value of T lies between 1 and 2, there is a probability of between 64 and 95% that some effect exists.

4. The proportion of the total variation in the dependent (y) variable accounted for by the two independent (x) variables is expressed by the square of the multiple correlation coefficient. The remaining variation may be ascribed to other influencing factors which have not been examined or to random influences.

5. A further, cruder measure of the relationship between the x and y variables, which is quoted in the table below for its general information value, is the simple correlation coefficient of each y variable with each x variable. A correlation coefficient of 1 would represent total correlation (every proportional increase in x producing a corresponding increase in y). A correlation coefficient of 0 would represent total absence of correlation. Such relationship as may be established by this measure is not necessarily causal and the crudity of the measure lies partly in the fact that other influencing variables are not taken into account and held constant, as they are in the case of multiple regression analysis.

6. In the present exercise, 21 regressions were undertaken (by computer). For convenience, the 15 separate professions were partially amalgamated to form the six groups shown in the table below. In respect of each group, and all groups taken together, each of the three measures of staffing shortage (y_1 , y_2 , y_3) was regressed on the population and environment factors (x_1 and x_2), making the 21 regressions.

7. The following table lists results of only 9 of the 21 regressions which were carried out. These represent all the cases in which the T-value exceeded 1, that is, where there was a probability above 64% that a relationship existed, whatever its degree. (Negative T-values and regression coefficients indicate an inverse correlation, in which the y variable decreases with an increase in the x variable, and vice versa.) The significance of these results is discussed in paragraphs 22-32 of the main text.

Table 5: Correlations emerging from the analysis

<i>Staff group and variables correlated</i> (1)	<i>Multiple regression coefficient</i> (2)	<i>T-value</i> (3)	<i>Simple correlation coefficient</i> (4)
<i>Group 1 (Architects, planners, civil engineers, surveyors, valuers)</i>			
Qualified staff and population	0.00424	1.42176	0.14601
Less than fully qualified staff and population.	-0.00475	-1.87233	-0.18500
<i>Group 2 (Child care and mental health officers)</i>			
All staff and D.R.V. per head	0.37834	1.56782	0.15113
<i>Group 3 (Education officers and librarians)</i>			
All staff and population	-0.00309	-1.75140	-0.17070
<i>Group 4 (Doctors and dentists)</i>			
Qualified staff and D.R.V. per head	0.29756	1.14503	0.12118
All staff and D.R.V. per head	0.41216	1.88346	0.18886
<i>Group 5 (Accountants and solicitors)</i> (No T-values above 1)			
<i>Group 6 (Public health inspectors, weights and measures officers)</i>			
Less than fully qualified staff and population	0.00217	1.20044	0.11814
<i>All groups</i>			
All staff and population	-0.00206	-1.74722	-0.15981
All staff and D.R.V. per head	0.10288	1.14691	0.09307

Notes: 1 The staff groups used in this table correspond to those given in paragraph 8 above as follows:

- "All staff" — paragraph 8 (2)
 "Less than fully qualified staff" — paragraph 8 (3)
 "Qualified staff" — paragraph 8 (1)

2 D.R.V.=Domestic Rateable Value

APPENDIX 11

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE ENQUIRY INTO EFFICIENCY OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Report on returns submitted by H.M. Inspectorate

1. In April 1967 H.M. Inspectorate were asked to complete a return (Annex A) for each local education authority in England outside the Greater London area showing the view which the Inspectorate had, as a whole, taken of the authority's performance under a number of headings and with regard to the education service as a whole. The Inspectors were asked to make their judgements without reference to the particular size and circumstances of an authority, and to mark one box only of a five-point score without qualification. This has been done for 122 of the 123 authorities in question. In the case of one small authority the Inspectors considered that its dependence on surrounding authorities for most services was such that they could only give the authority an overall grading 5 and give no observations under the individual headings. This authority is therefore included in the analysis according to overall gradings and is not included in any subsequent analyses based on replies to individual headings.

2. The returns were submitted to the Department through nine Divisional Inspectors. They have been examined centrally and it is the view of the Department that there is no significant difference between those nine regions in the overall grading given to authorities.

3. The judgement of the Inspectorate was crystallised into a five-point scale of overall assessment ranging from very good (grade 1) to weak (grade 5) with grade 3 as acceptable. On this system 37 authorities were judged to provide education services of better than "acceptable" grade (5 very good) and 34 were judged below acceptable with 4 very weak. The services of 52 were judged acceptable. Tables A and B (page 228) show the numbers of authorities classed in each grade together with the numbers in some broad size ranges. Of the 5 "very good" authorities, 4 had populations of over 500,000. One-third of the "good" were in this size range of over 500,000. At the other end of the scale all four "weak" authorities had populations of less than 100,000 and 26 of the 30 "slightly below acceptable" authorities had populations of less than 200,000.

4. In addition to the overall assessment of an authority, the Inspectors were asked to give a single grade against each of 16 headings. The relative importance of each of these headings was assessed by the combined judgement of Divisional Inspectors and expressed as a percentage weight, as now shown in the right hand margin of the specimen return. These weights were then used to combine the grades against the individual headings into two alternative scores for each authority. Score "A" was obtained by giving points 2, 1, 0, -1 and -2 for the

Appendix 11

grades 1 to 5 respectively. Score "B" was obtained by giving points 3, 1, 0, -1 and -3 to the grades. In this second system rather greater importance was attached to a marking of "very good" or "weak" than in the first system.

Table A: Grades of authorities

	<i>Counties</i>	<i>County boroughs</i>	<i>All authorities</i>
Grade 1 Very good	4	1	5
Grade 2 Good	20	12	32
Grade 3 Acceptable	15	37	52
Grade 4 Slightly below acceptable	6	24	30
Grade 5 Weak	—	4	4
Total	45	78	123

Table B: Grades of authorities by size

<i>Population</i>	<i>Grade 1</i>	<i>Grade 2</i>	<i>Grade 3</i>	<i>Grade 4</i>	<i>Grade 5</i>	<i>Total</i>
Counties						
Under 200,000	—	1	3	4	—	8
200,000 to 400,000	—	7	2	2	—	11
400,000 to 500,000	—	2	6	—	—	8
Over 500,000	4	10	4	—	—	18
County boroughs						
Under 100,000	—	3	12	11	4	30
100,000 to 200,000	1	3	16	11	—	31
200,000 to 300,000	—	3	5	1	—	9
Over 300,000	—	3	4	1	—	8

Chart I (page 233) shows the changing proportion of above "acceptable" and below "acceptable" authorities as the size of authority increases.

5. The resulting scores were first examined within regions to discover whether for example those authorities graded 3 (acceptable) had scores lower than authorities graded 2 (good). There were very few cases where the range of

scores calculated for authorities in a particular grade overlapped the range of scores calculated for those in the next highest grade; this did occur in the case of grades 3 (acceptable) and 4 (slightly below acceptable) in two regions, the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and the Midlands. This is shown in Chart II (page 234) which also shows that score "B" tends to spread the assessments rather better than score "A". For this reason score "B" has been used for further analysis.

6. The next stage of examination of the scores was to consider comparability between regions. The overall assessment of all authorities has been considered by the Chief Inspector who organised the survey and in his judgement there is good comparability between regions in the allocation of grades. If the score assessment is valid, the scores for authorities in a particular grade in all regions should fall within a range distinct from the range for other grades. As can be seen from Chart II this is not completely true but most authorities with an above "acceptable" grade have "B" scores of more than 40 and few "acceptable" authorities have scores above this figure. Similarly there is a reasonable line of division between "acceptable" and less than "acceptable" at about -40. The small overlap seems to be more a measure of the degree to which subjective judgement has entered into the overall assessment of an authority than a measure of differences between regions in the level of reporting. On this basis the following further analysis of scores was undertaken.

7. Authorities were first grouped according to size, and average scores were worked out.

Table C: Average score (B) of authorities ranged according to size of population

	<i>Number of authorities</i>	<i>Average score</i>
Population		
Less than 60,000	4	-32
60,000 to 70,000	8	-73
70,000 to 80,000	9	-30
80,000 to 100,000	11	-16
100,000 to 120,000	12	-22
120,000 to 140,000	5	-39
140,000 to 160,000	11	+7
160,000 to 200,000	8	+14
200,000 to 250,000	6	+48
250,000 to 300,000	9	+27
300,000 to 400,000	7	+38
400,000 to 500,000	10	+49
500,000 to 750,000	11	+55
750,000 to 1,000,000	5	+66
Over 1,000,000	6	+54

Appendix 11

The average scores of authorities in the various population ranges are shown in Chart III (page 235). The relatively high score of authorities with populations between 200,000 and 250,000 was due to the high incidence of counties, which tended to show better performance within the same size group than county boroughs in this particular size group. In Chart IV (page 236) the two types of authorities have been separated. Average scores have been calculated for successive groups of 10 in ascending order of size.

Table D: Average score (B) of authorities in successive groups of 10 in ascending order of size

All authorities		Counties		County boroughs	
Population range	Average score	Population range	Average score	Population range	Average score
Up to 65,000	- 57	Up to 240,000	+ 25	Up to 70,000	- 66
65,000 to 80,000	- 37			70,000 to 80,000	- 35
80,000 to 95,000	- 16			80,000 to 100,000	- 11
95,000 to 110,000	- 32			100,000 to 120,000	- 17
110,000 to 140,000	- 22			120,000 to 150,000	- 32
140,000 to 160,000	+ 10			150,000 to 200,000	+ 15
160,000 to 215,000	+ 8			200,000 to 320,000	+ 21
215,000 to 290,000	+ 45				
290,000 to 400,000	+ 38				
400,000 to 500,000	+ 49				
500,000 to 700,000	+ 64	240,000 to 415,000	+ 40	Over 320,000	+ 33
Over 700,000	+ 62	415,000 to 550,000	+ 46		
(12 authorities in last group)		550,000 to 1,000,000	+ 70		
		Over 1,000,000	+ 69		
		(5 authorities in last group)		(7 authorities in last group)	

Table D shows a steady rise in *average* score with size in the two groups of authorities.

8. There is wide dispersion about these average scores and small differences are not statistically significant. Numbers become small as soon as any detailed analysis is attempted and the exercise was conducted on the basis that assessments of individual authorities would not be disclosed. The full scatter diagram showing score against population is triangular with some high scores for small authorities but no very low score for large authorities. There is no strong visual evidence of a tendency to concentrate about a line rising with size although the average scores do rise.

9. It is of interest to note that for the two large groups of county boroughs, those with populations of less than 100,000 and those with populations of 100,000 to 200,000, we have the following scores for mean, median and quartiles.

Table E: Dispersion in score among small county boroughs

	<i>Population of</i>	
	<i>under 100,000</i>	<i>100,000–200,000</i>
Number of authorities	29	31
Average score	–37	–13
Median score	–40	–25
Upper quartile score	+12	+ 8
Lower quartile score	–87	–49

10. The conclusions emerging from this exercise are:—

- (1) factors other than size significantly affect the performance of local education authorities;
- (2) good authorities can be found through all size ranges but the weak ones are entirely below a population of 100,000 and others below an acceptable level are heavily concentrated in the size group up to 200,000;
- (3) the probability of good performance from an education authority increases with size and the probability of below acceptable performance decreases rapidly with size;
- (4) the average performance of authorities improves with size when counties and county boroughs are considered separately but small differences in these averages are not significant.

Department of Education and Science

June, 1967.

SPECIMEN RETURN

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

Enquiry into the efficiency of local education authorities

WEIGHTING GIVEN BY H.M. INSPECTORATE

Division

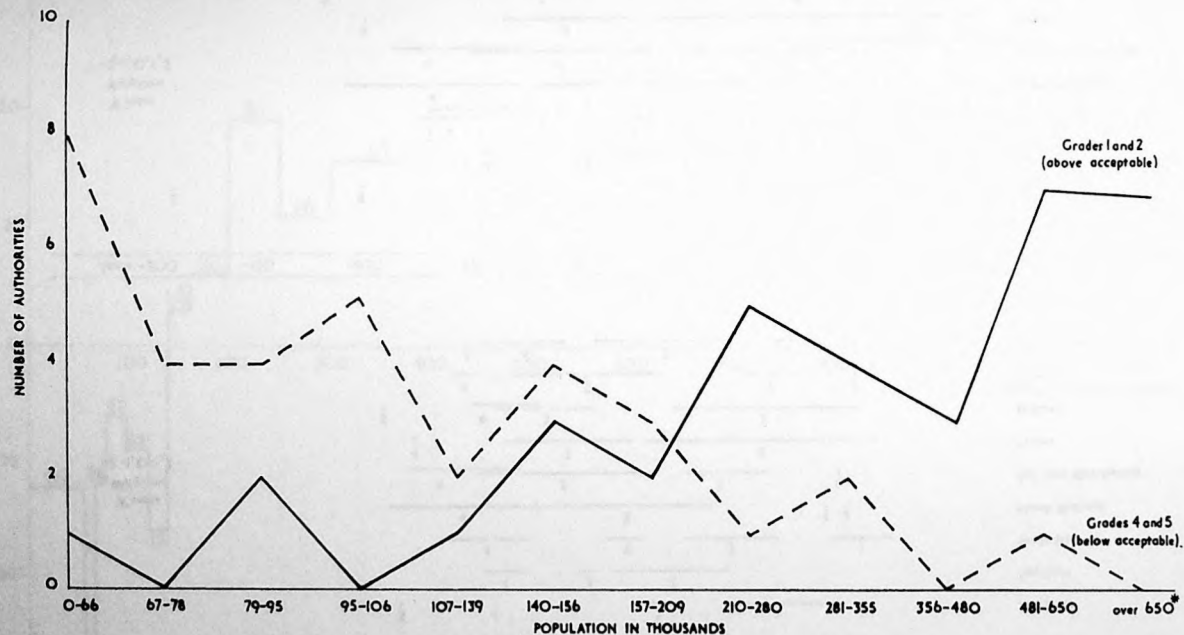
Local education authority

Assessment by (1) District Inspector for Primary and
 Secondary Schools
 (2) District Inspector for
 Further Education
 (3) Divisional Inspector

Please delete
 those that do
 not apply

	1	2	3	4	5	WEIGHT (See paragraph 4)
1. Adequacy of senior administrative Staff						
(a) Number						7
(b) Quality						9
2. Adequacy of specialist advisory staff						
(a) Range						6
(b) Quality						8
3. Encouragement of modern educational methods						6
4. Willingness to experiment						7
5. Arrangements for in-service training of teachers						8
6. Staffing policies						7
7. Relations with other authorities						
(a) "Free trade" in pupils and students						3
(b) Consultation over common problems						4
8. Relations with the public						
(a) Sympathetic handling of complaints						5
(b) Efforts to explain policies						5
9. Efficiency in regard to educational building						7
10. Expenditure on books and equipment						8
11. Arrangements for assistance to pupils and discretionary awards to students						5
12. Arrangements for the appointment of managing and governing bodies and their effectiveness						5
Overall grading for the authority						(Total 100)

CHART I: Number of authorities in successive groups of 10 (in ascending order of size) graded as being either 'above an acceptable level' or as 'below an acceptable level'.



* Since there are 13 authorities with a population greater than 650,000 the number of authorities above an acceptable level in this size range has been reduced in the ratio of 10 to 13

CHART II: Score ranges of grades in regions

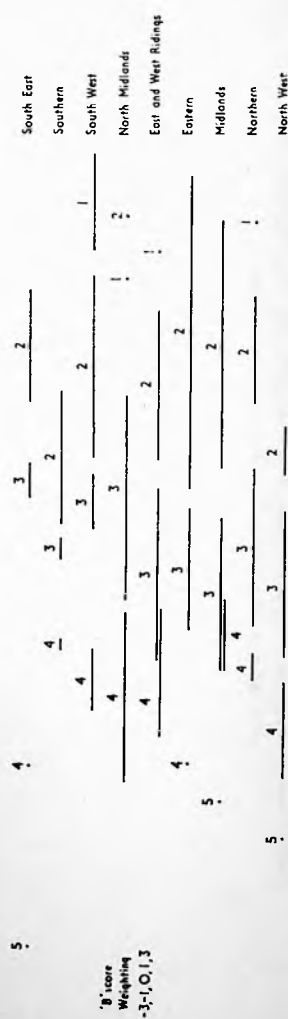


CHART III : Average score (B) of authorities in various size ranges
with number of authorities given in brackets

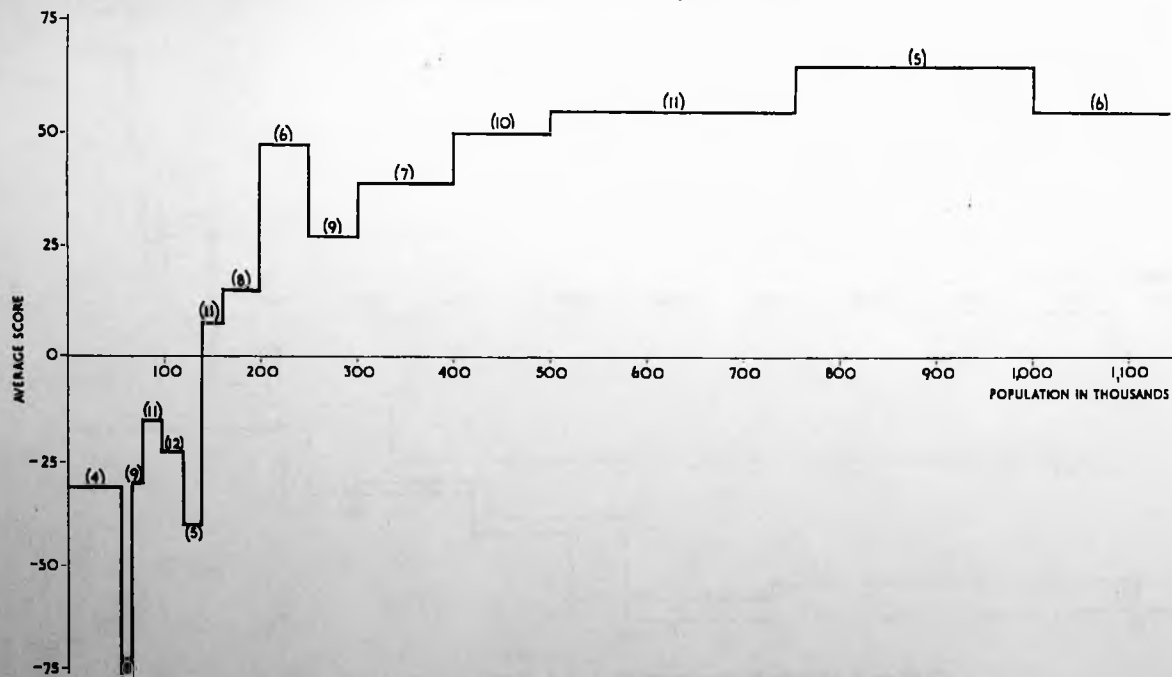
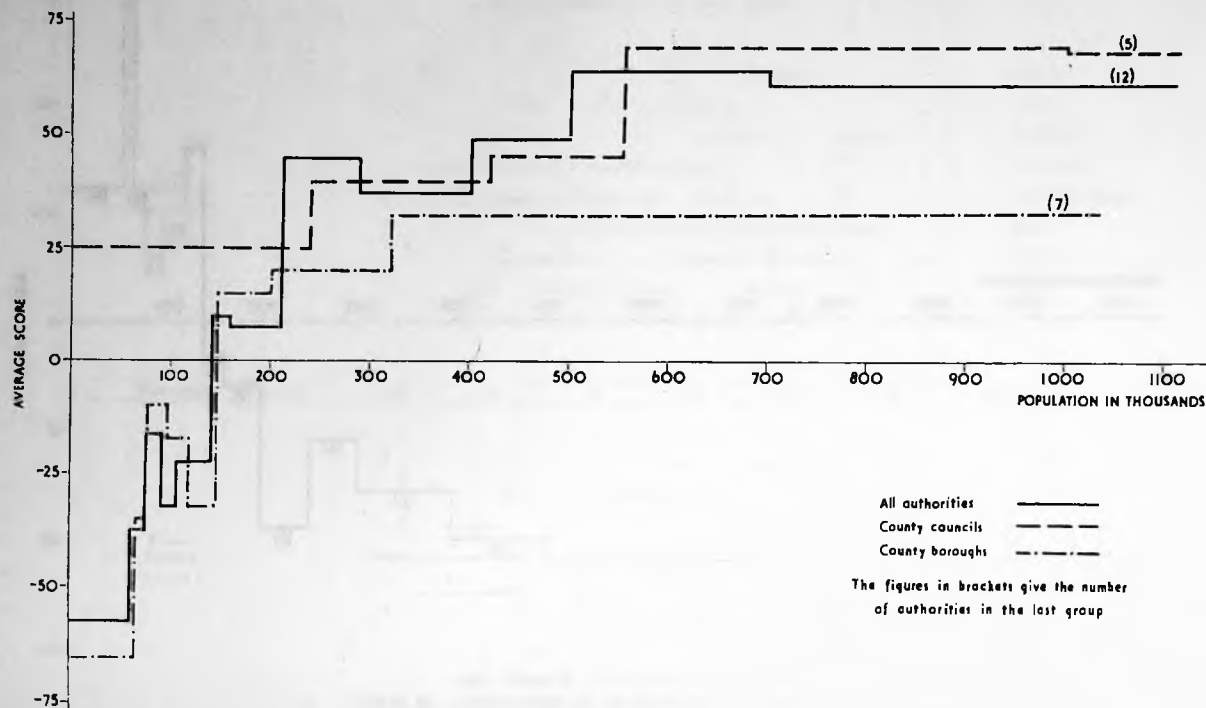


CHART IV : Average score (B) of authorities taken in successive groups of 10



APPENDIX 12

HOME OFFICE THE CHILDREN'S SERVICE Assessment of Authorities

Introduction

1. In January 1968 the Home Office, at the request of the Royal Commission, assessed the performance of local authorities in the exercise of the functions listed in the Children Act 1948, section 39. In this memorandum, the results are analysed to compare variations in estimated efficiency with variations in size, type, and geographical location. Obviously factors other than these also influence efficiency. Among such factors applicable to the children's service, as to others, are the capacity of the chief officer and the authority's general attitude to expenditure. Among factors of particular relevance to the children's service is the disproportion, in some areas, of the number of children in care to the size of the population, and therefore to resources such as rate support grant which depend on population. Another factor is the variation in opportunities for boarding-out, which is for most children both better and less expensive than residential care; an authority with good opportunities for boarding-out may the more easily find money for improving standards in that its basic accommodation and maintenance costs are low. Also, the level of performance in 1968 is still affected, to some extent, by the particular authority's good or ill-fortune in the "lucky dip" of 1948 when the children's service was formed by the transfer of some of the staff and some of the buildings from public assistance, health, and education departments, and staff were recruited from outside before authorities had had experience of the needs of the work.

2. The form of inquiry derives largely from that carried out for the Royal Commission by the Department of Education and Science (Appendix 11) and the Home Office is much indebted to that Department for its help.

3. The inquiry covers 43 county services, 76 county borough services, and two services provided jointly by a county and county borough (Lancashire and Bootle, Kent and Canterbury). The recording form is reproduced as Annex A. It was intended to avoid making allowances for local factors and all authorities were to be judged by the same standard. The form gives an overall grading of the authority's performance as a whole, marked on a five-point scale from "very good" to "weak". In addition, 13 elements of the service are each marked separately on a similar five-point scale; from these markings, a numerical score is calculated for each authority. The 13 elements do not together embrace every aspect of the service, as is explained in paragraph 7, but are considered sufficient to give a fair indication of each authority's general level of performance. The assessment is one of each authority's performance at a particular point in time and is not necessarily an indication of future performance; in some instances where the grading as at January 1968 is comparatively low, the trend is nevertheless encouraging.

Appendix 12

Gradings

4. Table A shows the overall gradings by county and county borough councils and by different ranges of population. 84 out of 121 authorities were judged to provide an acceptable or better level of service and, of these, 30 were graded as good and a further 7 as very good. The remaining 37 authorities were graded below the acceptable level and of these 10 were classed as weak.

Table A: Overall grading of authorities by type and size

<i>Counties</i>	<i>Very good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Acceptable</i>	<i>Below acceptable</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Total</i>
Under 200,000	—	3	5	—	—	8
200,000–350,000	—	6	2	1	—	9
350,000–500,000	2	4	3	1	—	10
500,000–750,000	2	3	—	2	1	8
Over 750,000	—	5	4	—	1	10
Total	4	21	14	4	2	45
<i>County boroughs</i>						
Under 75,000	1	4	1	6	1	13
75,000–100,000	1	2	6	5	1	15
100,000–150,000	1	—	8	6	4	19
150,000–200,000	—	2	6	2	1	11
200,000–300,000	—	—	7	2	1	10
Over 300,000	—	1	5	2	—	8
Total	3	9	33	23	8	76
Grand total	7	30	47	27	10	121

5. The spread in numbers of acceptable and better authorities is fairly even over the whole population range and for both counties and county boroughs. Only 2 out of 27 counties with populations of under 500,000 were regarded as below an acceptable level, compared with 4 out of 18 over 500,000. It is in the smaller county boroughs that a concentration of weaker authorities is to be found; 45% of these boroughs with populations of under 200,000 do not provide an acceptable level of service. For the boroughs over 200,000, the proportion graded below acceptable or weak falls to 28%.

6. To indicate any regional differences in the overall level of service, the authorities were grouped by economic planning regions, ignoring for this purpose the small parts of Dorset and Derbyshire falling within the South East

and North West regions respectively. Table B shows that three regions, Yorkshire and Humberside, North West, and West Midlands had the highest proportions of authorities graded below acceptable or weak, 50%, 45% and 44% respectively.

Table B: Overall grading of authorities by economic planning regions

<i>Region</i>	<i>Acceptable or better</i>		<i>Below acceptable or worse</i>		<i>Total</i>
Northern	10	71 %	4	29 %	14
Yorkshire and Humberside	8	50 %	8	50 %	16
North West	12	55 %	10	45 %	22
East Midlands	11	92 %	1	8 %	12
West Midlands	9	56 %	7	44 %	16
East Anglia	5	63 %	3	37 %	8
South East*	18	82 %	4	18 %	22
South West	11	100 %	—	—	11
Total	84	69 %	37	31 %	121

*Excluding Greater London

Scores

7. In addition to the overall assessment of each authority, 13 separate elements in the make-up of each authority's service were identified and awarded a grade on the five-point scale. The aggregate of these separate elements does not represent the total services provided. For example, not all authorities act as adoption agencies and the amount of work arising from supervision or fit person orders can depend on the extent to which the local courts decide to employ a local authority in this way. An assessment of child protection work was similarly not attempted. It was not, therefore, expected that there would be a complete correlation between the overall grading and the aggregate of selected elements in any one authority. The weightings attached to these 13 elements are shown on the sample form (Annex A).

8. The five-point scale from very good to weak was scored 3, 1, 0, —1 and —3, weighted according to the importance attached to each head. Table C shows for authorities in different population bands, irrespective of type, their average scores. Table D separates counties from county boroughs and shows, for each type of authority, the average score in groups of ten authorities in ascending order of population. Throughout this report, the Registrar General's annual estimates of population as at 30th June 1967 have been used.

Table C: Average scores of authorities by size

<i>Population</i>	<i>No. of counties</i>	<i>No. of county boroughs</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average score</i>
Under 75,000	2	13	15	-12
75,000-100,000	1	15	16	-31
100,000-150,000	2	19	21	-53
150,000-200,000	3	11	14	-4
200,000-350,000	9	12	21	-1
350,000-500,000	10	1	11	+64
500,000-750,000	8	4	12	+16
over 750,000	10	1	11	+12
Total	45	76	121	—

Table D: Average scores of authorities by type in successive groups of ten in ascending order of size

<i>Counties</i>	<i>Average score</i>	<i>County boroughs</i>
—	-33	Up to 70,500
—	-18	70,500-85,900
—	-30	85,900-102,000
—	-48	102,000-121,800
—	-63	121,800-154,000
—	-25	154,000-219,200
Up to 249,000	+25	—
—	-29	219,200-400,000
249,000-422,000	+56	—
422,000-550,000	+81	—
—	-3	Over 500,000 (6 authorities)
550,000-1,000,000	-4	—
Over 1,000,000 (5 authorities)	+6	—

9. Insofar as the score of any one authority should correspond to its overall grading, the scores for authorities with a particular grading should fall in a range distinct from the range of scores of authorities allotted an adjacent grading. Chart I (page 244) shows this distinction to be true for all but a few authorities and in most of these cases any discrepancy could be related to the quality of matters outside the 13 selected elements. Five of the authorities graded as "good" have scores of less than +35 and five authorities graded as "acceptable" have scores slightly in excess of +35. Similarly there are four authorities in the

"acceptable" grading with scores slightly below -50 and four authorities in the "below acceptable" grading with scores a little better than -50 . A score between -50 and $+35$ may therefore be taken as representing an acceptable level of service. The dividing line between the two lowest gradings is about -120 and between the two highest gradings about $+144$.

10. Chart II (page 245) illustrates the scatter of scores in each of the population bands used in Table C. It can be seen in each band that there are good and bad scores of over plus and minus 100 respectively, fairly evenly spread; the only exception among the negative scores being in the 350,000–500,000 band, where the lowest score is -43 . It is clearly in the lower bands of under 200,000 that the highest incidence of scores below "acceptable" level is to be found.

11. The main difference in the results of this enquiry from those of the Department of Education and Science¹ is to be found in the scores of the larger authorities over 500,000. Tables C and D show a falling-off in the average scores for children's authorities over the half-million mark, whereas the education authorities in that group had higher average scores than education authorities in the population band next below. Nevertheless, as Chart II shows, only three authorities over 500,000 had scores significantly below the "acceptable" level.

Product scores

12. In order to compare the level of service provided in each economic planning region as a whole with that in other such regions, "product scores" were devised. To obtain an authority's product score, the authority's score calculated as in paragraph 8 is multiplied by the authority's population in millions. This offsets the distortion of the regional average score which would otherwise result from the presence, in a region, of small authorities with extreme scores. Table E shows the aggregate of the product scores of authorities in each region.

Table E: Product scores by economic planning regions

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total product score</i>
Northern	-13
Yorkshire and Humberside	-356
North West	$+168$
East Midlands	$+1$
West Midlands	-133
East Anglia	$+106$
South East	$+352$
South West	$+232$

1. See appendix 11

Appendix 12

Compared with the information in Table B, Yorkshire and Humberside and the West Midlands still show to disadvantage, but in the North West region the majority of the population is relatively well served, although the number of unsatisfactory authorities is high. In other words, where the size of the authority is not the predominant factor, these two areas of the West Midlands and Yorkshire are more likely to possess unsatisfactory services than the other parts of England under review.

Summary

13. The following conclusions may be drawn from this limited enquiry:—

- (a) Authorities graded acceptable or better are to be found in every population band, but those graded below acceptable or weak are concentrated in the under 200,000 bands.
- (b) Factors other than size affect the efficiency of local children's authorities.
- (c) The probability of an efficient service, however, increases with population size up to the level of 500,000 or 550,000. Beyond this, there is some falling-off, but the probability of efficiency remains greater than at any level below 350,000.
- (d) Counties provide, on balance, better services than county boroughs but the demand for their services may be less intense.
- (e) The probability of a service being below an acceptable level in parts of the Midlands and northern England is related to factors other than just the preponderance of smaller authorities in some of those parts.

Home Office,
February, 1968.

ANNEX A

SPECIMEN RECORDING FORM

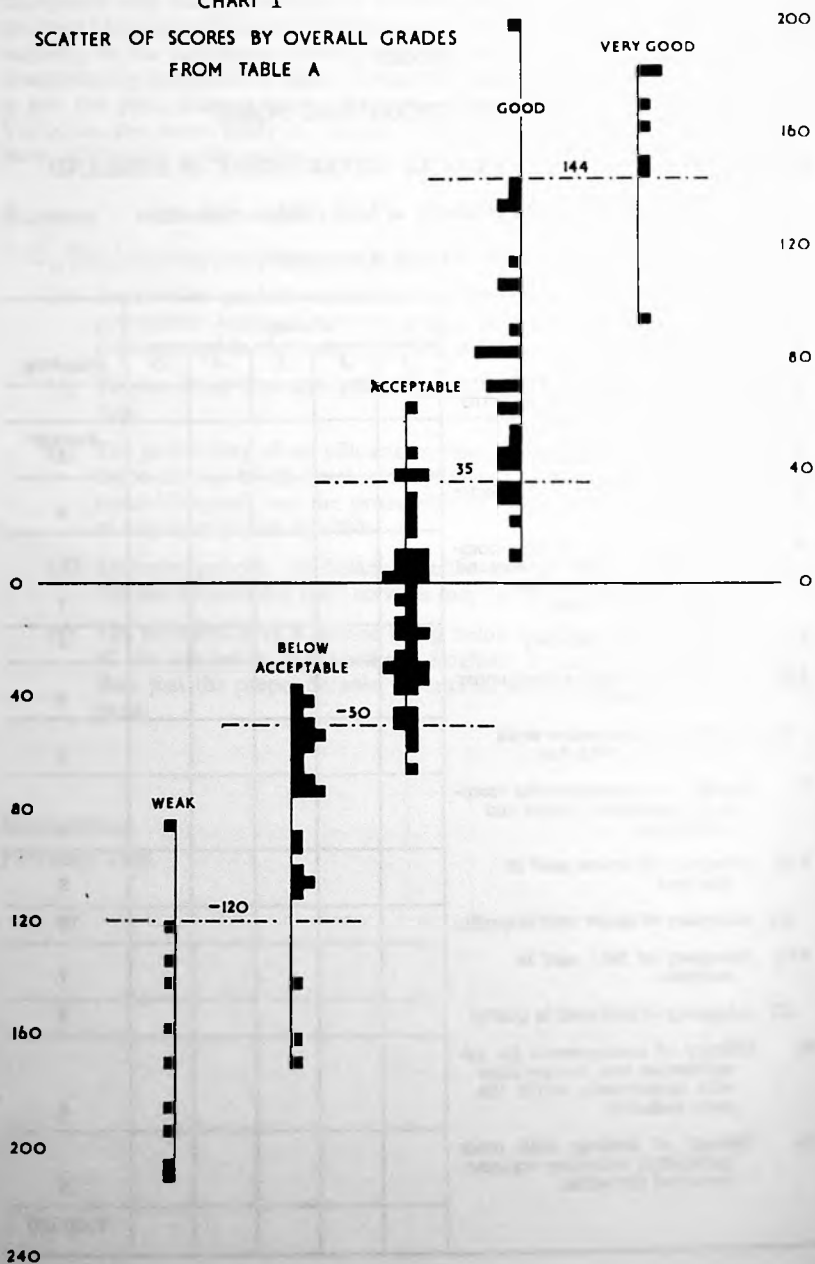
ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

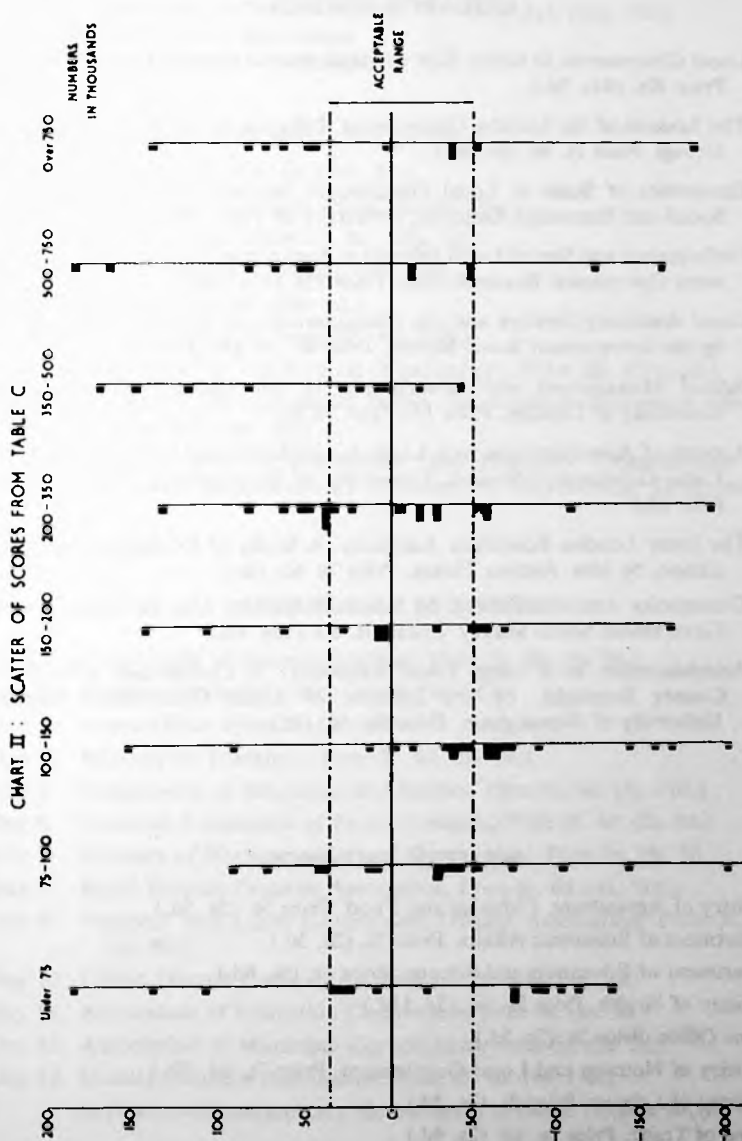
Enquiry into the efficiency of local children authorities

Region: Local Authority:

No.	Item	Grading					Weighting
		1	2	3	4	5	
1.	Overall grading for the authority						
2.	Boarding-out percentage						Average 5
3.	Selection and supervision of foster parents						9
4.	Availability of residential accommodation in terms of places and type of accommodation (excluding reception)						7
5.	Quality of residential care						8
6.(i)	Quality of preventive work under s.1 of 1963 Act						9
(ii)	Quantum of preventive work under s.1 of 1963 Act						6
7.	Quality of arrangements for reception, assessment, review and restoration						10
8.(i)	Adequacy of senior staff in numbers						8
(ii)	Adequacy of senior staff in quality						10
9.(i)	Adequacy of field staff in numbers						7
(ii)	Adequacy of field staff in quality						9
10.	Efficacy of arrangements for co-ordination and co-operation with departments within the same authority						6
11.	Efficacy of dealings with other authorities, voluntary organisations and the public						6
							Total 100

CHART I
SCATTER OF SCORES BY OVERALL GRADES
FROM TABLE A





ROYAL COMMISSION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

RESEARCH STUDIES

1. Local Government in South East England, by the Greater London Group. Price 40s. (41s. 5d.)
2. The Lessons of the London Government Reforms, by the Greater London Group. Price 7s. 9d. (8s. 6d.)
3. Economies of Scale in Local Government Services, by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of York. Price 4s. 9d. (5s. 3d.)
4. Performance and Size of Local Education Authorities, by the Local Government Operational Research Unit. Price 15s. (15s. 8d.)
5. Local Authority Services and the Characteristics of Administrative Areas, by the Government Social Survey. Price 4s. 3d. (4s. 8d.)
6. School Management and Government, by the Institute of Education, University of London. Price 11s. (11s. 7d.)
7. Aspects of Administration in a Large Local Authority, by the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham. Price 17s. 6d. (18s. 8d.)
8. The Inner London Education Authority. A Study of Divisional Administration, by Mrs. Anthea Tinker. Price 7s. 6d. (8s.)
9. Community Attitudes Survey, by Research Services Ltd. on behalf of the Government Social Survey. Price 17s. 6d. (18s. 6d.)
10. Administration in a Large Local Authority: A Comparison with Other County Boroughs, by the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham. Price 6s. 6d. (7s.)

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Price 5s. (5s. 5d.)
Department of Economic Affairs. Price 2s. (2s. 3d.)
Department of Education and Science. Price 5s. (5s. 6d.)
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County Councils Association	}	Price 21s. (21s. 10d.)
Association of Municipal Corporations		
National Association of Parish Councils		
Rural District Councils Association		
Urban District Councils Association		

County Borough Councils. Price 13s. (13s. 9d.)
County Councils. Price 32s. 6d. (33s. 7d.)
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Rural District Councils. Price 47s. 6d. (49s. 3d.)
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Parish Councils. Price 38s. (39s. 8d.)
Professional Organisations. Price 32s. 6d. (34s.)
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Day 10. Urban District Councils Association. Price 4s. (4s. 3d.)
Day 11. Association of Education Committees. Price 4s. (4s. 3d.)
Day 12. Association of Municipal Corporations. Price 5s. (5s. 3d.)
Day 13. County Councils Association. Price 4s. 6d. (4s. 11d.)
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